

INSIDE: THE DEBATE OVER AIDS AND THE AIRLINES

Maclean's

DECEMBER 1, 1986

CANADA'S WEEKLY NEWSMAGAZINE

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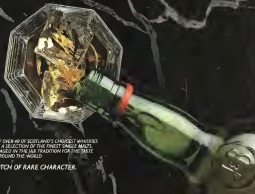
THE NEW JOE CLARK

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CANADA'S WEEKLY NEWSMAGAZINE

Maclean's

DECEMBER 1, 1994 VOL. 30 NO. 48

COVER

The new Joe Clark

Public and media perceptions of Joe Clark have changed dramatically since the former prime minister lost the leadership of his party three years ago to Brian Mulroney. Once portrayed as wingpin, the external affairs minister is now widely considered an effective, respected statesman—and is one of the Prime Minister's most trusted ministers.

—Page 10

COVER PHOTO BY MARK DODD



Ottawa's shout-face

After saying that it would fight a U.R. duty on Canadian lumber, Ottawa struck a deal with all the provinces but Ontario on a proposal that could end the dispute.

—Page 22



Afghanistan's endless agony

As the seventh anniversary of their invasion approached, the Soviets were attempting to end the war by starving the resistance into submission.

—Page 32



Britain's new capitalists

Public ownership is taking on a new meaning for Britons, who are flocking to buy new share issues in companies formerly owned by the British government.

—Page 42



Elected to a new career

Former TV journalist Carole Taylor, who has interviewed Canadian prime ministers and other political leaders, recently became a politician herself.

—Page 64

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LETTERS

Child care concerns

I read with interest the Nov. 19 cover story, "Parents, jobs and children." Here is another Canadian who maintains that child care should be an individual responsibility. Why should I pay higher taxes for someone else's child-care day care? They want to work, let 'em pay.

—EDWARD F. BLAIR,
Lockport, Que.

It's impossible to describe how devastated I was upon learning of the money crisis, and I was upfront at the innumerable problems facing a couple earning \$60,000 yearly as they attempt to find the best day care facilities. What a waste of time, money and paper. However, I am very concerned about the care given to the child of a low-income single parent who has no options. If we restricted ourselves to helping those who really need it, there would probably be enough money to go around. Instead, we are again seen intent on assisting those who don't need help at the expense of everyone else. —BRUCE ALEXANDER, Regina, Sask.

As a society we must ensure that our children receive good-quality care, whether at home or in substitute care. However, the cost burden should be shared more equitably among taxpayers. There is much agitation for subsidies and tax benefits for parents whose children are cared for outside the home. What about parents who have chosen to care for their children at home? Why is the tax system not more supportive of those families? Although your article attempted a balanced approach, it



Ottawa day care centre: high cost

would have provided greater insight into the child care issue had it explored the beliefs and motivations behind the various child care decisions made by Canadian parents every day when deciding who will take care of their children.

—RICHIE WHITE,
Guelph, Ont.

After reading "Parents, jobs and children," I was left with the impression that parents, rather than day care centres, should be blamed. Those with a propensity to put career first, to leave young children for long hours in day care centres, or to purchase subsidized care in order to indulge in consumerism, should not be permitted to have children. Your readers should be made aware that the assumption that licensed care is better than unlicensed care (nannies, grandparents, etc.) is just that: an assumption. There are no studies on the quality of unlicensed care. The article approaches the question of child care more from a convenience-for-parents point of view than from a what's-best-for-child one.

—PEGGY GRIPPONE,
Ottawa

Regarding "Parents, jobs and children," my view on this controversial subject is this: don't penalize those of us who rearrange our lives and "do without" so that we can look after our own children. I think that subsidized day care will stack up right alongside unemployment insurance and welfare—for every one person that deserves five will take advantage.

—TERRY VAN MUNCHING,
Nininger Falls, Ont.

Letters are edited and may be reworded. Writers should supply name, address and phone number. Mail correspondence to: Letters to the Editor, Maclean's Magazine, 1000 Avenue Road, 1177 Bay St., Toronto, Ont. M5W 1A7.

PASSAGES

DEED: Former Liberal cabinet minister and high commissioner to Britain Donald Campbell-Jones, 65, of a heart attack (page 24)

ENGAGED: Janet Turnbull, 31, publisher and vice-president of the Toronto-based paperback publishing company Bantam-Doal, and writer John Irving, 44, author of *The World According to Garp*. Turnbull, whose company published Irving's latest book, *Cider House Rules*, resigned her position effective March 1. The couple plan to marry in June.

ROSEN: The singer/actress Bette Midler, 40, and her husband Martin von Haselberg, a performance artist and commercial trader, an eight-pound, 11-ounce got, in Los Angeles.

DEED: Elaine Dineen, 71, mother of the world's first surviving quintuplets, in hospital in North Bay, Ont. The celebrated quintuplets were born in 1984 in a farmhouse in the nearby village of Carleton Place and Martin von Haselberg since died, and publicly shy. Chloë, Annette and Yvonne live in a Montreal suburb. Father Oliver died in 1979 at 70.

DEED: Irish actress Siobhan McKenna, 43, who performed internationally but was most celebrated for her tragic-heroine roles on the Dublin stage, of a heart attack following surgery for lung cancer, in Dublin.

DEED: Protestant-bacon operator Aile McCallum, 71, a legend in the Haldimand-Norfolk area, in Haldimand County, who reportedly made a fortune during his 40-year career, was found several times for being off the books of prostitution, but was never imprisoned.

DEED: Russian-born American comedian Jerry Colonna, 42, of kidney failure, in hospital in Woodland Hills, Calif. Known as well for his walrus mustache and bellowing roar, Colonna appeared in such light comedies as *Good to Go* and *Good to Go* with Bob Hope and Bing Crosby in the 1940s.

ARRESTED: Financier William Ploeg, 39, a key figure in a fraudulent 1992 real estate deal that involved selling and reselling close to 11,000 Toronto apartment units several times in the same day, by U.S. federal marshals accompanied by members of the Ontario Provincial Police, in Fort Lauderdale, Fla. The case charged Ploeg, who now faces extradition proceedings, and two others arrested earlier—Andrew Markle and Leonard Rosenberg—with defrauding three trust companies for a total of \$102 million.

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Chronicler of the rich

Seated in his small but elegant penthouse apartment in midtown Manhattan, Dominick Dunne speaks in a hushed, confidential tone about his recent trip to Paris. He dined at Versailles with the richest man in France, took in a lavish party hosted by an international socialite and called some juicy gossip from a European prince. All in all, it was a hard week's work for the ex-Hollywood producer turned author and magazine writer, who at 61 has become the pre-eminent American chronicler of high society. But Dunne, a security minder with a sharp observer's eye and a skill for capturing the revealing nuances of character, is modest about his success. "I have," he said, "this incredible luck with people telling me things."

Dunne's profile in *Money* magazine, edited in a new book called *Patel Chowra*, to be published in December, pores the facades of such diverse figures as Isabella Marconi, Queen von Bismarck and Gloria Vanderbilt. For his 1986 bestselling novel *The Two Mrs. Grenville*, to be broadcast

in February as an NBC television miniseries, Dunne used the cloak of fiction to explore the real-life 1965 shooting of banker William Woodward. By his shrewd wit, a crime that rocked patriotic New York circles. His reputation as a gentleman is Dunne's most valuable asset, winning him seemingly unlimited access to the world he writes about. "He gets sensational stories, yet the rich still trust him," said *Money* magazine editor Tina Brown. And Dunne's personal struggles have made him a sympathetic listener. Having overcome a painful divorce, alcoholism, a heady decade and the murder of his only daughter in 1980, he now enjoys a second career at an age when most men start contemplating retirement.

When Dunne published his scathing August, 1985, *Money* story of Isabella Marconi in exile, some friends shied him for not taking a tougher stand. Dunne defends his conciliatory policies by citing the results. Marconi revealed more than she intended about her current life and her relationship with her husband. "Marconi came into

the room twice while Isabella and I were talking," recalled Dunne. "Each time he was analyzed at her for something, and each time she turned her charm on him and got his mind off her altogether. I learned so much just by watching." But some subjects merit a tougher approach. In his two-part article on socialite Clara von Bülow, acquired in June, 1985, of attempting to murder his heiress wife, Dunne depicted a shady, self-promoting man—and reportedly estranged von Bülow.

Still, Dunne describes himself as a perennial outsider. The second of six children of a well-to-do Connecticut family, Dunne graduated from the noted Williams College in Williamstown, Mass., in 1949. But as a youth he felt the stigma of being Irish Catholic. "Those were pre-Kennedy years," he noted, referring to John F. Kennedy, the first Roman Catholic president—and that sense of not quite belonging never left. "I used to hate that feeling, but now I cling to it," he said, "because once you become part of that world, you lose your star for the way people talk and how they behave."

In 1961 Dunne got his first show-business job as an NBC floor manager in New York for the *Monday Night Show*. Then he moved to L.A., where he rose through the ranks to establish himself as a television producer. In



Dunne, a sharp eye and a skill for capturing revealing nuances of character

1967 he went to Hollywood, where he produced such films as *Passie in Nevada Park* and *The Sign of the Cross* and served as an executive at the independent Four Star Studio. Dunne's most cherished memories are of the glamorous social life he and his wife, Ellen, enjoyed in Hollywood. But that life took its toll. In the early 1970s he and his wife were divorced. In 1975,

with his career disintegrating, battling a drug and drinking problem, Dunne fled to a small cabin in Oregon, and he says that the six months he spent there saved his life. "I had never really spent any time alone before," he recalled. "It forces you to come face-to-face with your demons."

When Dunne finally left Oregon, it was to attend the funeral of one of his

brothers, who had committed suicide. Afterward, he moved to a tiny studio in New York's Greenwich Village and produced his first novel, a tawdry Hollywood saga called *The Women*, in 1982. But that year his life was shattered again by the brutal strangling death of his daughter Dominique, at 24 the youngest of his three children and a promising actress. Her former boyfriend was subsequently convicted of voluntary manslaughter. At Brown's suggestion, Dunne kept a journal of the court proceedings, which "helped keep me from going crazy," he said. The journal became his first magazine piece for *Money* magazine.

Now, Dunne deals with his grief by being active in support groups for victims of crime victims and by immersing himself in work. The sale of paperback and television rights to *The Two Mrs. Grenville*, reportedly for more than \$300,000, has created the financial well-being that enabled him to buy the cheery new penthouse. But Dunne is careful to because a predominantly social life with the women which many writers require. And for all his attraction to high society, Dunne is as larger tempted to become part of it. "It is like a big movie," he said, "and I just love watching it."

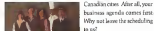
—THEODORE LEVIN in New York

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DATeline: POINTE-AU-PIC

Trouble at the manor

The black and white of a man in a tuxedo, from Raymond Stenard's neck, almost obscuring the Minister Richelieu hotel logo on her purple vest. For 32 years Stenard worked as a chef at the stately summer resort hotel in Pointe-au-Pic, Que., and she still wears her Musée Richelieu sweatshirt



Stenard in front of Musée Richelieu, pointed out

with pride. But by the end, and the Confederation of National Trade Unions button pinned to it, have become equally important symbols to her. After new owner Raymond Blanchard assumed control of the Musée last December, he refused to recognize the union contract, reduced wages and replaced the hotel staff with lower-paid, nonunion labor—including about 10 former union members. Now, Stenard and the more than 500 unrepresented hotel employees are at the centre of a bitter dispute that has severed friendships and family ties in the small town on the St. Lawrence River. "My neighbor and I have played bridge with each other all our lives, but I know where the stands in this fight," said Stenard. "We do not play bridge

anywhere. We do not even talk."

Stenard swears the scarf to mourn the death of 30-year-old Gaston Harvey, whom he, Stenard, is a former Muséum employee. On Oct. 26, during a protest march on the hotel, police arrested Harvey, who was intoxicated, and he died shortly after, while in custody. The hotel owner's report concluded that Harvey had suffocated after inhaling his own vomit. But a second autopsy, conducted at Ottawa's Riverside Hospital after union leaders flew Harvey's body there, concluded that although the man had suffocated, he had done so only after sustaining a concussion from a blow to the head. Harvey's death further galvanized the over-unionized resort, already nothing more than the unionized ex-employees began organized protests against Blanchard 15 months ago. "I do not go to the bars at night, so I have never met with any violence," said Erik Rely, a 42-year area resident who left the hotel seven three years ago to assume a management position and who is now the Musée Richelieu's

assistant manager. "But you can see the anger in people's eyes when you meet them in the stores." In the past year, that anger has become more turned against the Musée Richelieu itself. Last June, vandals poured five gallons of blue dye into the hotel's 250,000-gallon water supply, forcing guests out of the hotel. On Oct. 17, 71 people were arrested after they broke into the hotel during a demonstration and caused \$15,000 worth of damage. After that, the hotel management asked the court to renege a previous injunction barring the union from hotel property and access roads. Picketing union members must now stand at the town's main intersection, nearly a mile away from the Musée. The conflict has brought uneasiness

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publicity in the *Maison Richelieu*, which is struggling to regain business after years of decline. Open for the summer season only, the 58-year-old hotel—a vaudeville French chateau-style building set on a cliff 700 feet above the St. Lawrence River—was once a favorite summer retreat for wealthy Quebecers and Americans. The regime, called Murray Bay by anglophones, first became popular in the latter half of the 19th century, when St. Lawrence cruise boats regularly stopped at the town's wharf. The resort became even more attractive to tourists when William Howard Taft, U.S. president from 1909 until 1913, built a summer home in Murray Bay.

But in 1968 Canada Steamship Lines discontinued its St. Lawrence cruises, and the *Maison's* business began to decline. In 1975, just before losing power to the Parti Québécois, the Liberal provincial government bought the hotel to save it from

bankruptcy. Under the rule, the hotel staged such high-profile events as the 1979 premier's conference—but it still suffered losses. In 1984 the Quebec government decided to sell the hotel.

Last December Malenfant, a Quebec City developer and hotel-chain owner, bought the *Maison* for \$300,000 and a pledge to renovate the property. With the sale, local residents expressed hope that a refurbished *Maison* would bring a badly needed economic boost to the Charlevoix region. Since assuming control of the hotel, Malenfant has spent \$9 million on upgrading the facilities, including installing an indoor pool and building a new ballroom. Three satellite dishes now perch on the hotel's roof to improve television reception for the *Maison's* 350 rooms. The new owner also decided to insulate the hotel and keep it open year-round. The hotel drew notice for the region in its months that anybody else is the past 30



Photo: Peter, an inquirer

BY GUY ALOU

years," said Bob Bob Malenfant also cut hourly wages from an average of \$7.15 to as little as \$4, claiming that the move was necessary for the *Maison* to remain competitive with nearby hotels. About 50 union members accepted Malenfant's terms and signed on—facing the anger of their former colleagues. Now, the *Maison* management claims that the union's protests, along with unseasonably cool weather, were responsible for this summer's disappointing 65-per-cent occupancy rate.

The issue of economic revival was also at the forefront of the town's November majority election, won by a 3-to-2 margin by incumbent Jean Laporte, a high school teacher. Laporte, who says that unemployment in the area is close to 30 per cent, defended the economic benefits Malenfant was bringing to the town. Renée Laroche, his opponent, identified herself with the union cause. "I am not the middle-class of Malenfant," Laporte told Malenfant's. "But nobody allows for gray areas in this fight. If you are not for the union, you are against it."

But the former employees show no signs of abandoning their struggle. Solange Desros, for one, a former *Maison Richelieu* housekeeper, almost stayed on as a nonunionized *Maison* employee. Said Desros, who faced a 35-hour-per-week cut: "I worked eight hours for Malenfant; and then I quit." He joined the picketers, who have directed their most vociferous anger at Malenfant and the workers who stayed on.

Many of those employees claim to have been threatened by the picketers. "We have not gotten used to the situation yet," said Diane Avelin, 37, a hairdresser at the hotel. "Many of us are frightened by the threats." Laporte, who says that he has also received threatening phone calls, adds that the climate of fear has invaded the whole town. "Under people are intimidated," he said. "They are afraid to go to the *Maison* for a cup of tea."

In October Quebec Premier Robert Bourassa—a friend of Malenfant—stepped in to defuse the growing controversy. He appointed Judge Robert Sanfey to conduct an inquiry into Harvey's death. At the same time, Raymond Lehoucq, a government mediator, is seeking an end to the Malenfant-union impasse. But the community divisions show no signs of healing. "Everybody in Pointe-aux-Pis is affected by the *Maison* issue," said Bernard. "There are sisters who no longer speak to each other because of this." In her own family, she says, she no longer has contact with her nephew, who works as a waiter at the *Maison*. Said Bernard: "The union is my family now."

—BRUCE WALLACE in Pointe-aux-Pis



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Big Mac attack on the Kremlin

By Fred Bruening

Let history record that the month of January events may have come to a critical juncture one evening in Moscow last summer, when Ted Turner, the American television chief, found himself with a mighty longing for a couple of slices of pizza.

Suddenly, Moscow is not yet a city where the visitor can pick up the phone and order out for a large pie, half-mushroom, half-sausage, but we Americans are not so easily deterred. If our stomachs are demanding handfuls of tender crust piled with slices of tomatoes and melted mozzarella, we are not going to let the lack of pizza or blinis or caviar or beet soup. We are going to have pizza, and we are not going to care what we have to do to get it.

In this case, the Americans, in town for the Moscow Goodwill Games, which Turner helped finance, called back to their home base of Atlanta and undertook negotiations with a local Pizza Hut restaurant. You can imagine the surprise of the clerk when informed not only that the customer had in mind 100 pizza pies—a sort of deep-dish variety—but that delivery would be considerably outside the neighborhood.

Could this happen anywhere else? The Pizza Hut people did not advise Turner to breathe deeply and listen to the nearest Soviet institute for psychiatric rehabilitation. They did not take the whole thing as a silly hoax devised by high-school seniors who had spent last summer working London streets.

They did not scorn the fun or burst into uncontrollable laughter or simply hang up the phone and comment aloud that there really were some strange folks running loose these days.

No! These were Americans, you understand, and so they did only what would be expected in such circumstances. Pronto, they rolled out the refrigerated pizza pizzas, made arrangements to ship the pies aboard a Dutch jet and arranged the food to the airport. Some hours later, Turner and his associates were teasing down stairs like they were silent parrots. There was but one minor disappointment. The Soviet Union does not permit the import of cooked meat, and so the Atlanta pizza makers were forced to hold the pepperoni.

McDonald's would like nothing more than to bring Big Macs to the masses in isolation. Pizza Hut has been perusing the Kremlin for several years and, in fact, seeks franchise rights for the Soviet territory, remarkable as that may seem. It could even be that Turner, aly operator that he is, sent a few of those 100 pies to various high-placed party boys—maybe a slice to General Secretary Gorbachev himself—and it could be further that the commentators delighted in the taste, the texture, the splendid fatty goodness of such irresistible cuisine.

What hunk of coarse black bread, after all, can compare with a wedge of holding pizza from the high-tech hearths of America? One can almost imagine the boys at the ministry of economic resources sitting around a table the size of Lithuania, dutifully munching away, pulling stringy mozzarella from their chins, nodding, and—ah, yes!—even smiling, as they ask one another to be posting, please.

One can imagine the commissars in Moscow smiling, nodding and pulling stringy melted cheese from their chins

the garlic powder, sausage and hot-pepper flakes.

Whether or not Pizza Hut pinned a foothold there, the fact is that PizzaCo, which owns the restaurant chain, says that things look good for an agreement permitting operations in the Soviet Union to start next year. Under the terms of the expected deal, as many as 100 Pizza Huts would be situated throughout the country. The Kremlin hierarchy must have figured this if Ted Turner would summon pizza to the Soviet Union to start next year. Even at least would have sufficient fervor to trek across town for a taste.

There is more. Last month Soviet television broadcast an upbeat feature as a McDonald's restaurant in Manhattan, complete with shots of burgers on the grill and workers dashing about to accommodate an eager public. The commentator raved about the fare and seemed to be struck by the quality of service. "Maybe," he said on the air, "there is something we can learn from this."

McDonald's would like nothing more than to bring Big Macs to the masses

It has already signed a pact with Hungary allowing for five restaurants, and they are reports that the company is seeking for a share of the Soviet market, too. Meanwhile, there was a report in *The Wall Street Journal* that Polish farmers have been trying for years—and are still trying—to produce for McDonald's a potato that can be used in the production of french fries for the decadent markets of Western Europe.

The lesson of all this seems abundantly clear. From the Oval Office, President Reagan advances notions of a Strategic Defense Initiative that John Wayne would not have feared. The President dreams of an impenetrable shield of lasers and missiles that would repel offensive armaments such as Wonder Woman's bracelets once deflected bullets from the bad guys. Officers will be spent if Mr. Reagan prevails, but nothing so exotic is necessary.

Our man in the White House must abandon his collection of Flash Gordon classics and pay more attention to the business page. The Soviets don't want war, Mr. Reagan, they want money. They want double cheeseburgers. They want McDonald's, breakfast biscuits, hot damn, the works!

Whatever differences and hostilities exist between the American people and their Soviet counterparts, whatever suspicions and jealousies linger between respective leaders, we must recognize the opportunities presented by the inimitable language of food. Certain countries for American cooking—for anything that drops with processed cheese or is packed from the deep-freeze trays.

One suspects, however, that Mr. Reagan will not relent so easily—that perhaps a compromise just is possible. Why not seize the moment and send our men and women to the streets and when we're dispatched the Soviets, let's have a whack at Nicaragua and Cuba, too! But instead of firing warheads and bullets, we must be clever. We must deploy burritos and bacon-burgers and thick shakes, the whole terrifying arsenal. Cost-effective and inconvertible, the plan will engulf every foe of capitalism, will upend the final source of revolutionary aid. Let us hesitate no longer, then. Start your engines quickly, my boys, and as for the enemy, poor devils, watch out below.

Fred Bruening is a writer with *Newsday* in New York.

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THE NEW JOE CLARK

CANADA/COVER

It was the kind of incident that not so long ago would have sparked another round of the Joe Clark jokes. Canada's external affairs minister had mounted the podium in the baroque ballroom of Vienna's Imperial Palace to address a racial-international conference on East-West relations. His speech did not start well—Clark followed Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze and many delegates were screaming out to brief their political masters on the Sovietist position. But there was more to come. Suddenly, the 20-foot screen that was to relay Clark's message to hundreds of journalists and diplomats in an adjacent room blacked out for four minutes, leaving Clark spending to a dwindling audience. But no one made much of the foul-up. Instead, media coverage back home focused on the content of Clark's address, a forceful condemnation of the Soviet record on human rights. And Clark himself just shrugged and said: "This is hard-core life. Things happen."

Winner: It is a remarkable change. Only two years ago Clark was widely regarded as a national embarrassment. Now, the man for whom the label "wussy" seemed to have been invented has shaken that image and become a winner. An external affairs minister in Prime Minister Brian Mulroney's Conservative government, Clark has earned the respect of diplomats around the world. And with increasing success, he has made Canada's views influential in international affairs.

Clark's stature seemed likely to increase after last week's dramatic operation by his department to bring five Soviet deserters out of Afghanistan. External affairs officials negotiated the release of the Soviet citizens, who had been held by Afghan rebels, and for their transport to Canada. Clark had undertaken last April to try to help the men find a source familiar with the operation. "You've got to give Joe Clark his due on this one. External made two efforts before and failed, and basically he said that that, 'Do it, period'" (page 28).

At home, Clark is riding high as one of Mulroney's most trusted advisors, consulted by the Prime Minister on issues far beyond foreign policy. Against all odds, he even appears to have a spe-



cific cordial relationship with Mulroney—the man who took the Conservative leadership from him. Clark's department is firmly under his control. He is well-liked by the band of diplomats and trade officials who represent Canada abroad. And his human qualities—honesty, integrity and decency—square favorably with Mulroney's public image as a fervent partisan and less trustworthy than other political leaders. And Bill Neville, Clark's former chief of staff: "He's finally being judged on what he's doing rather than on what he is."

Clark's closest political ally contends that they once thought it unimaginable that he would bounce back to become one of the most consistent and dependable performers in the federal cabinet. But Canadians, they say, are only now getting to know the Joe Clark who was their loyalty years ago.

Even before the Afghanistan operation became public, Clark was active as half a dozen fronts last week. In Parliament, he fended off opposition charges that the government had knowingly allowed the Canadian subsidiary of an American company, Pratt & Whitney Canada Inc., to sell helicopter parts and engines to Iran for use in its war against Iraq (page 28). On Thursday, he issued a stern warning to companies that do not voluntarily follow Ottawa's guidelines on trade with South Africa. The government, he said, is prepared to pass legislation forbidding them to invest there. And on Friday, Clark hosted U.S. Secretary of State George Shultz for their regular quarterly meeting.

Since September, 1984, when he took over External Affairs, Clark has quietly changed the thrust of Canada's foreign policy. He has dismissed the attempts of Pierre Trudeau to play a high-profile role in world affairs, such as the foreign policy minister's abortive "peace initiative" of 1983-1984. And he has steered carefully away from Mulroney's own strongly pro-American rhetoric. Instead, Clark has moved closer to the role Canada has traditionally played since the Second World War: a middle power that can best influence events through such organizations as the United Nations and the Commonwealth.

Among his major achievements:

- **Apartheid:** Mulroney was prepared to never all time with South Africa's white supremacist government. Clark persuaded him to act in step with other Western nations and to push for joint action by the Commonwealth on sanctions against Pretoria. Ottawa's position dovetailed with that of British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher and President Ronald Reagan—both of whom have resisted sanctions.
- **Atomic controls:** Six months after the

March, 1986, Shastokh Summit between Mulroney and Reagan, Clark guided a debate compromise through cabinet on Washington's Strategic Defense Initiative—the "Star Wars" missile defense project. The government decided not to take part in the \$70-billion project, but did allow private Canadian companies to compete for Star Wars contracts.

● **Ethiopia:** In the fall of 1986, when gruesome images of mass starvation flashed across television screens around the world, Clark set up a special task force to channel money and food to Ethiopia. His actions—and the activities of many nongovernment groups—helped to win this year's United Nations Nobel Medal for humanitarian service. It was awarded to the Canadian people for their aid to refugees around the world.

Clark has also won praise for things that did not happen. When the Conservatives were elected 26 months ago, some analysts voiced concern that Mulroney's pro-American stance heralded a sharp turn to the right in Canadian foreign policy. In fact, even the government's critics acknowledge that External Affairs has kept its distance from the state department in Washington. And Liberal foreign affairs critic Donald Johnston: "The overall thrust has been for Canada to continue as a moral leader, a middle power prepared to take stands on principle."

Plot: That thrust was evident again last month. No sooner had the trial of Jordanian terrorist Nour Hammad concluded in London—with stunning evidence of Hammad's role in a plot to blow up an Israeli airliner—than a call went out from Clark's office on the 10th floor of the Lester B. Pearson Building in Ottawa to British Foreign Secretary Sir Geoffrey Howe. Marking the British decision to sever diplomatic relations with Damascus, Clark told Howe that he was recalling Canada's ambassador to Syria for consultations—a clear signal of Ottawa's concern about state-sponsored terrorism. The prompt, unilateral show of support showcased Canada's stature among grateful British officials.

In Western diplomatic circles, Clark is regarded as well-briefed, a quick study and someone who can think on his feet. Said one European diplomat: "He is a decent chap to do business with—honest and trustworthy." Clark has also earned respect in Washington. Said Charles Dumas, director of Canadian Studies at the Johns Hopkins School of Advanced International Studies in Washington: "When he takes a position, we know it really is the government position and it won't be reversed or altered. He's a real professional." One American official said that when

he first met Clark, "my initial impression was that he had gotten bad news in Canada. He has been very impressive—very well-bred, powerful and intelligent."

The results have generally been positive. Said one diplomat who has observed Canadian foreign policy for several decades: "Pierre Trudeau was happier as the addresser of an audience Joe Clark led in Ottawa than he was to influence policies it will do it from within the club, rather than running off and doing its own thing. From a Western perspective that has meant a more successful foreign policy."

In part, Clark has built respect through personal friendships with London's House of Commons and Washington's State, as well as through his rapport with Howe's better than with Shultz, as he has broken through the formalities of diplomacy with both men, enjoying dinner at Howe's country estate at Chaworth, south of London, and barbecued steaks at Shultz's home in Bethesda, Md., outside the U.S. capital. Clark meets Shultz every three months to discuss everything from timber to acid rain. And, according to participants, they have a great deal in common. Said Thomas Nixon, the U.S. ambassador

to South Africa, his own home and Joe Clark is a loyal troupe."

Point: The long march of Joe Clark's political resurrection began on June 12, 1982, the night he lost the Conservative leadership to Mulroney. It was his second public humiliation—following the defeat of his government three years earlier. His face etched with pain, Clark stood awkwardly in an Ottawa arena and bowed himself to sing O Canada along with the Tories who had just rejected him. Most ob-

vious—to stay in politics and wait to get the party re-elected or leave. Said Senator Lowell Murray: "He's smart enough to see that you have to do one of two things: either clean the door, walk out and start a new life or stay and play a full part. You don't sit there groaning and grumbling. He decided he was going to stay." His friends say that Clark would have felt emboldened by his left politics in 1982 at age 44. Said Murray: "He wanted to wait and see what he could do."



Advisers Taylor (left), Murray (right) for Clark, his goals are more important than his individuality.

erved expected that Clark would take a rest, perhaps just the speaking circuit, and quietly withdraw from the grand microphone center which he had lived for seven years. Instead, he used the moment to urge fellow Tories gathered on the floor of the wintering Ottawa arena to be loyal to their new leader.

Boost: Later, Clark spoke to his supporters at the Château Laurier. As Mulroney's name was mentioned, a chorus of boos and hoots began. But Clark smiled and for loyalty. Really, however said Neville: "Even when you would have forgiven the guy if he'd allowed the accumulated provocation to flow out, he didn't." Clark's determination to keep peace in the party was rewarded during the following week when he travelled the country urging leading Conservatives to rally around Mulroney. Said Jim Hawkins, an ex-Calgary West and a longtime personal friend: "That's what Clark. The goals are more important than the individual."

But Clark faced a personal crossroad—to stay in politics and wait to get the party re-elected or leave. Said Senator Lowell Murray: "He's smart enough to see that you have to do one of two things: either clean the door, walk out and start a new life or stay and play a full part. You don't sit there groaning and grumbling. He decided he was going to stay." His friends say that Clark would have felt emboldened by his left politics in 1982 at age 44. Said Murray: "He wanted to wait and see what he could do."

Clark says that he thought through the problems of being a cabinet minister, and quietly withdrew from the grand microphone center which he had lived for seven years. Instead, he used the moment to urge fellow Tories gathered on the floor of the wintering Ottawa arena to be loyal to their new leader.

Reps: In fact, Clark's success at External Affairs is due to a considerable extent to the relationship that he has established with Mulroney. Clark is part of Mulroney's kitchen cabinet of close advisers, consulted on major issues ranging from agriculture to arms control in the Conservative caucus. Clark plays a key role. One minister said that Clark is three "especially

when he thinks the leader needs some support and the amount has to be calmed down. He's very good at that." Indeed, on many issues Clark has become Mulroney's biggest supporter. Said Mulroney's special adviser, David Irving: "They're very, very close. I can't think of a situation on which there has been any ideological disagreement at all."

As a former prime minister, Clark is also the only person who knows from experience the stress of leadership.

Shortly after, he increased the number of women envoys to seven from one, including new appointments to Hong Kong, Denmark and Sri Lanka.

Use: At External, Clark relies heavily on a lot of key officials. Undersecretary of State for External Affairs St. Taylor, known throughout the career diplomatic corps as a thoughtful adviser on foreign policy, Associate Undersecretary of State Derek Bormey, who caught Mulroney's eye for his deft handling of relations with the United

States, and Alan Sullivan, a former ambassador to Austria who is now in charge of East-West relations. As an Ambassador, who often returns to his home in High River to visit his mother, Grace, and other friends, Clark has had a special role in shaping government policy toward the West. Said one cabinet colleague: "He always feels he has to fight for the recognition of the West and western problems. He feels very strongly about local roots."

Reps: Each month Clark reneges his roots by heading back to his home riding of Yellowhead, which sprawls from the western suburbs of Edmonton to the B.C. border. There, he has always been the favorite son. One recent Saturday, Clark flew from Ottawa to Langview, Alta., 38 km from High River. The Roo-

ple has ready to record Clark's long-delayed request to compensate for the wounds they inflicted on him in the past. Said Arnold Malone, the Conservative MP for Crowfoot: "I think there is a latent source of grief for how they may have responded to him." Whatever the reasons, Clark's newfound responsibility arrives with it a final irony. His steady performance has been one of the bright spots in the government beset by its rival. As the government stumbled during its first two years in office and the image of Mulroney himself was increasingly tarnished, Clark's unquestioned integrity and lack of self-conscious pride shone in comparison. But even that did not spark a rift between the two men. Clark was working hard to make the government—and by extension, Mulroney himself—look good. As Clark's close friend Murray said: "Prime ministers like people who do that."

—FELIX MACKENZIE in Ottawa with correspondents reports



Clark with mother, Grace, in High River. Murray (below) one of the cabinet's last partisans.

Many cabinet colleagues at first suspected that their old rivalry would remain a barrier between the two men or force Clark to hold his own view in check for the sake of party discipline. But according to Murray: "It wasn't a matter of swallowing himself or of putting his own convictions aside—he never did that."

By all accounts, Clark's days at External are long and busy. A government spokesman drops him at his office at around 9:30 a.m. for a 20-minute meeting with his chief of staff, longtime adviser Jeff White. A series of carefully regulated meetings and briefings follow—but he does have opportunities to put his stamp on the department. Recently, Clark sent back a list of proposed ambassadorial appointments because it contained no women.



Photo by G. L. L.

—FELIX MACKENZIE in Ottawa with correspondents reports

TRYING TO CHANGE 'THE WORLD IN INCHES'

COVER

External Affairs Minister Joe Clark spent several days in Vienna recently, representing Canada at a conference on human rights and East-West relations. On board the flight back to Ottawa, Clark relaxed, chomped into a sandwich and spoke with Maclean's Ottawa correspondent Hilary Macdonald. They began by talking about Clark's political resurrection—his climb back after losing the Progressive Conservative leadership to Brian Mulroney at the party's 1983 convention. Part of their conversation:

Maclean's: You are part of the cover story. You are a person. How have you maintained the defunct and come back?

Clark: I don't know that's a question one can answer. Partly, it is an act of will. You say, I am not going to give up. The rest of it is simply carrying on. I had a duty, I believed, after the leadership convention to stand for office. One of the unique advantages that I have had in the cabinet is that I understand better than others do what a prime minister requires of his colleagues. Another advantage one shouldn't underestimate is that on most foreign policy questions, the PM and I have a similar view.

Maclean's: Many people focus on similar situations would have said, 'I can't keep my nose out of this.' Why did you decide not to switch careers?

Clark: Remember the circumstances. I believed that there needed to be a change of government and that I had an important role to play in making that happen. It's essential in a system like ours that there be an alternative because the old ways and actions that belong to a party become engrained into public habit and become more and more difficult to change.

Maclean's: Was it a difficult decision for you to stay on?

Clark: It wasn't difficult to stay, so. It was difficult to lose the convention.

Maclean's: You lost the prime ministership, then the leadership, and suffered what many called a public humiliation. How did you endure that?

Clark: I didn't regard it as an extraordinary public humiliation. I was off-balance for a while, but I didn't take it personally. I didn't doubt myself. I thought that people who doubted me

were wrong. I haven't changed my view. **Maclean's:** There were rumors when you started in cabinet that the Prime Minister wanted to run foreign policy out of his office. Was that the case?

Clark: When we started, this term, the habit was much less that the Prime Minister and his office ran foreign policy. Recently, I had to make the adjustment [to answering specific questions in the House rather than general ones as I had as Prime Minister]. There was some suffering at the beginning and that has smoothed itself out.

Maclean's: You mentioned in 1981 that you had not made up your mind whether you would run for Parliament again.

Clark: I still haven't—though my experience has been a happy one in the past.

'I was off-balance for quite a while, but I didn't take it personally. I thought people who doubted me were wrong'

two years, and I would be more inclined to run than not.

Maclean's: Given the leadership race, as it difficult working with Brian Mulroney? How do you sit across the table from him now after week?

Clark: He won the convention and, as I said in the letter to the people who supported me, those of us who have called for loyalty now have an opportunity to demonstrate it. It was awkward to walk into a caucus over which one had presided and to be a member of the caucus, but that became less awkward with each day. The Prime Minister made it as easy as one could—and gradually we both began to adjust to that new reality. I didn't take an active part in things for a while because, while I thought that he and I could stand it, others would feel a little awkward if there seemed to be a disagreement between us. Now, when it arises, it is seen simply as two ministers having different views, and it's generally accepted that the minister who is prime minister power will make the final decision. There

have been cases where he has accepted my argument over his own.

Maclean's: What problems did you have with your department at the beginning?

Clark: There was confusion about the information that was given to me on the American attack on the Turkish Embassy [March, 1983]. I was very annoyed at having given the House of Commons wrong information, because I try not to do that. I was annoyed at the department. Little glitches still occur, and we're able to roll over them now. There is an odd thing—if there's the impression that things are going well, it makes it easier for them to go well.

Maclean's: In recent years you have seen Pierre Trudeau's peace initiative and one Mulroney's open stance toward the United States. Where, exactly, is Canadian foreign policy headed?

Clark: This is not an age susceptible to solo leadership or solo ventures. The initiative that Trudeau took was doomed by that from the outset. We would have been similarly ineffective if we had tried to deal with the question of [South Africa] apart from our own. On the initiative with the United States, I believe it is very much bearing fruit. We have changed at least public attitudes in the United States on the question of acid rain, which is a key bilateral issue to us. I think we are going to succeed on the trade initiative.

Maclean's: What role has your wife, Metewee, played in your work?

Clark: Well, obviously, a very supportive role. She could have said, 'I have enough of this,' and made it difficult for me to do what I felt I had to do. I think she shared my sense of the obligation to the party and to the system. Mulroney began to follow her own career more extensively after the leadership convention in 1983 than she had before. That has made it easier for both of us, because she became involved in the things that were her own. She could afford to be more assertive in what she was doing. That, I think, was helpful.

Maclean's: What have your major achievements been?

Clark: We have opened up the process of foreign policy formulation and discussion in the country. We have generally tried to bring people in—whether it's



bringing the process on the trade talks or making sure business leaders travel with me when I go to countries where there are investment people. Secondly, we have been able to revive some of the grossly defective elements of Canadian foreign policy—the one for which I take most credit is the Commonwealth. The Trudeau government was not particularly enthusiastic about the Commonwealth. We've been able to breathe quite a lot of new life into it. A great challenge always is to take account of the American presence. It involves incredibly difficult problems, ranging from interests that are deeply different on issues through to a profound and permanent ignorance about basic Canadian interests. It is not a solution, however, but it is there.

Maclean's: Does Mulroney consider you an enemy beyond external affairs?

Clark: He certainly feels broadly, and there is a cluster of ministers who are consulted more than others—some because of a combination of position and ability, such as [Minister of Finance] Don Wassonowski. Both Don and I have been involved in the discussion over energy and agriculture. Agriculture has become a foreign policy issue.

Maclean's: Are there any other subjects you go it alone to know?

Clark: I am very happy where I am.

Maclean's: And if the leadership came open again?

Clark: I don't think it is going to come open again. I consider that behind me.

Maclean's: Is there an area in foreign policy that has proved more intractable than any others?

Clark: I think that the determination of the U.S. government on Central America is less flexible than I might have thought. It's not just a foreign policy issue to them, it's a domestic policy issue, and it's permeated by a nationalistic fervor. I am not hopeful about southern Africa. The bulk of the progress has been made in the mobilizing of pressure and also fairly good progress in the reduction of black violence. But those two, two out of three, are not achievements without merit. What may happen is a very depressing situation.

Maclean's: Is it frustrating to be a foreign minister with a very intelligent diplomatic corps in a middle power, with obvious limitations in your clout?

Clark: Quite in the contrary. What's frustrating is to have people think that we are more limited than we are. Canadians do not fully understand the immense influence we enjoy in a range of countries. Our judgment is respected, and they are prepared to be as nervous on things. If you believe that the world changes in inches, and I think it does, then it's very important for us to be convincing and keeping alive the capacity for that influence. ☐

IN SEARCH OF PRIVACY

COVER

At a dinner party in Joe Clark's home recently, guests talked with growing excitement as their host ramblingly about the time he travelled to Cameroon as Prime Minister. An enthusiastic crowd lined the room of his motorcycle, waving flags and shouting something Clark could not quite make out. To great laughter, he confessed that as waking inquiries he discovered that then-French president Valéry Giscard d'Estaing had been in Cameroon the week before and the crowds were shouting the chant they had learned for that visit: "Giscard l'oiseau!"

That self-deprecating humor, Clark's friends say, is often on display in private. In public, it is a different story. After getting what he considered a rough ride by the news media early in his public life, Clark now keeps his guard up—and the Clark the public sees on the nightly news striving stridently, chest outstretched, through the corridors of Parliament contrasts sharply with the congenial host described by friends.

Home: These days there are fewer occasions for Clark and wife Margaret McFerrer to mortuate in their rambling brick home on Chadwell Lane in Aptim, Que., up the Ottawa River from the capital. If anything, he is busier now than when he was prime minister because of the travel that goes with being a senior cabinet minister.

After Even in Ottawa, Clark's schedule is a hectic, constant round of meetings and briefings. And Jim Hawkins, a longtime friend and fellow Conservative at "the woods all day, every day." No one disputes that Clark is a workaholic. And much of his previous spare time is spent reading weighty books related to his work. But when Clark gets politics aside, he will often pick up a mystery novel (one favorite author John le Carré) or take in a movie (most recently, *Stand By Me*). Over a diet Coke or a social glass of

wine, he likes to drink nonpolitical dinner guests into conversation about subjects ranging from baseball to theatre. Conspicuously absent from Clark's agenda in any form of regular athletic activity. Said Clark: "We have a dog [Mickey], who walks me 1-2-3-4-5 any exercise. My system—and I

at movie lineup in Ottawa, but is usually accused. "That's why he likes to get out of the country for holidays. There's no recognition in Normandy," says Humphreys.

At home, McFerrer jealously guards the family's privacy. One friend describes life on Chadwell Lane as surprisingly traditional. Margaret likes to bake, Joe likes to watch baseball. And both try to spend as much time as possible with Catherine, nicknamed Muffin. Those days a week, Margaret practices law with Lyons, Goodman, specializing in legal research, and she writes a monthly column for *Clairvoyance*, but still considers herself a full-time mother. Clark does prepare the odd meal for himself and Catherine when Margaret is out of town, but her last colleague Jeff Lyons says: "I don't think anybody is going to give him a Gordon Blue award."

Sedentary: But McFerrer's husband is not a couch potato at home, says Lyons. For real reality she looks her family name, he says, not at respect for her father, but out of lack of respect for her husband. "She always says to me that he's the boss, and I believe it."

Professing family time is difficult, so Clark tries to take Margaret and Catherine with him when possible. Fortunately, McFerrer shares his love of travel but while she water-ski, rides horses, plays tennis and cross-country skis, his leisure-time pursuits tend to be more sedentary. Lyons, a friend since he and Clark were young student acquaintances, says that Clark wanted to work when other students wanted to play the late black rock contra-dance members of politicians, not girls. The private Clark would be quick to laugh at that reminder. "One thing I've learned about laughing at yourself," he said. "You've got to do it first."

—MAGDALENE DODMAN with correspondent reports



Clark with Margaret, Catherine and dog: his only exercise



Clark with George Shultz in Ottawa last week: a cooling of the courtship

OTTAWA'S FOREIGN POLICY AGENDA

COVER

In March, 1985, when Prime Minister Brian Mulroney invited visiting President Ronald Reagan to a dinner in Quebec City to ring *When Irish Eyes Are Smiling*, he signalled an important change in Ottawa's approach to relations with the United States. While Liberal Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau was in power, contacts with a succession of U.S. presidents were often chilly and at times antagonistic. Mulroney promised to clear the air and forge "superb relations with our greatest friend and ally."

But after more than two years in power, the Conservative government's enthusiasm for the Washington connection appears to be waning. Although this remains strong, and Mulroney and Reagan maintain a seemingly warm personal relationship, the Prime Minister has failed to ease many of the strains of the Trudeau era. As a result, the Conservatives are moving toward a more traditional policy, one that emphasizes Canada's role as a middle power. University of Toronto political scientist John Kirton and that the Mulroney government

has moved away from the "soft/cheap, good West/cheap Communists" approach to foreign policy favored by the Reagan administration and toward a more liberal, more business, more globalist attitude.

Courtois: One reason Mulroney has cooled his courtship of the Americans, foreign policy experts say, is public opinion. A poll by Washington-based Angus Reid and Associates last released earlier this month showed that 90 per cent of respondents said Mulroney moved too closely to Reagan's foreign policy line. Another factor was the appearance of such right-of-centre cabinet ministers as Sinclair Stevens, Robert Coates and Erik Nielsen, which allowed more moderate Tories groped around National Affairs Minister Joe Clark to control the foreign policy agenda.

Soon after the Tories took office in September, 1984, Clark ordered the first comprehensive foreign policy review in more than a decade. The result was a joint Commerce-Senate committee report, submitted last June, which recommended a policy of constructive internationalism—working through in-

ternational institutions with other middle powers. Indeed, Mulroney has played an increasingly larger role in the Commonwealth and its counterpart for francophone nations, *Le Francophonie*.

At the same time, Ottawa and Washington have discussed on such issues as arms control, financial support for the United Nations and U.S. anti-drugging as a potential aid relationship. As well, rising protectionism in the U.S. Congress has prompted a series of trade disputes and damaged prospects for a bilateral free trade pact.

Outside of the crucial relationship with Washington, the Tory government has taken steps in several other foreign policy areas among them:

• South Africa: While Reagan was appointing sanctions against the white-ruled nation as anti-apartheid, Mulroney won a reputation among Third World leaders as a committed opponent of apartheid with his performance at a Commonwealth meeting last year. Since then, he has pushed for stepped-up economic pressure on South Africa and threatened to sever diplomatic relations unless Pretoria moved to abandon racial segregation. Seeing no progress, Ottawa announced new sanctions in August.

• Foreign aid: After Canadians responded to the famine in northern Africa with a wave of generosity in 1984 and 1985, Clark announced that Ottawa would slash public development dollar for dollar. But he failed to generate a debt-conscious cabinet to slash by a 10 per cent. He promised to increase foreign aid spending to 0.7 per cent of the Gross National Product, instead of the current 0.5 per cent.

• Central America: The Tories have retreated foreign aid to Nicaragua and maintained two despite a U.S. embargo of the leftist Sandinista government. Earlier this month Canada backed a United Nations resolution calling on Washington to end its aid to the right-wing contra rebels.

• Human Rights: Clark has become a vocal champion of human rights, especially the plight of Jews in the Soviet Union and other Communist countries. According to one European-based Canadian diplomat, changing Soviet attitudes on human rights motives holding their "Tolstoy line up to the fire as often as possible."

—DAVID LARSEN in Ottawa

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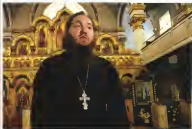
DRAMA AND DANGER

COVER

The operation was almost three years in the making. Beginning in early 1984 a committee organized by Toronto members of the Russian Orthodox Church had been negotiating with the Canadian government, officials in several other countries and leaders of the anti-Communist forces in Soviet-occupied Afghanistan. The purpose: to rescue men who had deserted from the Red Army and whom Afghan guerrillas were holding prisoner. Earlier this year Ottawa announced that the talks had reached an impasse. Then, just weeks, so an undertaking that revealed Canada's

Agar Koralshuk, 26, Nikolai Golovin, 23, Sergei Buzov, 23, Vadim Plotnikov, 23, and Vladimir Sharenko, 26—entered the country under special ministerial permits. The guerrillas were holding a snafu soldier, Sadiq Munnar, too far inside Afghanistan for a rescue attempt to be made.

Efforts to bring the deserters to Canada began in earnest in July, 1984, when Toronto immigration lawyer Sergei Jucop travelled to Afghanistan on behalf of the Toronto committee to talk to the rebels. But the negotiations went complicated because of stringent Canadian immigration requirements



Mulchenko: giving credit to the Canadian government and a 'miracle'

dramatic role in rescuing an American diplomat from revolutionary Iran, the government severely overplayed the escape of five of the deserters and flew them to Canada. Said Rev Vladimir Mulchenko of Toronto's Holy Trinity Russian Orthodox Church: "Thank God for the Canadian government for giving us this miracle."

Mulchenko said that the men were staying temporarily at a Canadian Forces base. According to a report in the Kingston, Ont., *Whig-Standard*, which played a major role in bringing about the rescue, colonial affairs department officials arranged to have two of the deserters led away from a rebel camp and across the border into Pakistan, where they linked up with a group of three from a second escape. The Charley they headed a flight for Canada. The five Soviets—identified as

and procedures. Last April, *Whig-Standard* reporters travelled to Afghanistan, talked to the men and wrote about them for the paper. At that point, according to department spokesman Paul Fraser, External Affairs Minister Joe Clark decided that bringing the Soviets out "was a humanitarian measure that Canada could make."

Mulchenko said that the church would place the Soviets with families in the Toronto congregation this week and help them become "ordinary citizens." He added that as many as 100 soldiers have deserted the Red Army since it invaded Afghanistan in 1979. For at least five of them, it may prove to have been worth the wait.

—NANCY GEE with STEVEN ABERNETHY and ARN FINKELSTEIN at Toronto and PHIL GOSSEL and RICHARD MALKINOWSKI in Ottawa

WINDOW SHOPPER

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Vander Zant with Mulroney, Peterson (below), conflict and possible compromise

A new strategy on trade

It was a startling reversal of Ottawa's strategy in its most important trade dispute—and it came at an unlikely time and place. After a 70-minute evening meeting in Vancouver last week with the 10 provincial premiers, Prime Minister Brian Mulroney emerged with an announcement at the end of the first day of their annual conference. Mulroney said one of the 10 provinces—Ontario's David Peterson accepted—had agreed on a proposal to end a simmering dispute with the United States over a punishing American duty on imports of Canadian softwood lumber.

The dispute has been a major impediment to Ottawa's talks with Washington on free trade. But last week's proposal was directly contrary to the Mulroney government's previous stand on the issue. After publicly denouncing the U.S. duty for weeks as unacceptable, Canada had suddenly agreed to abandon all the means of appeal open to it—pending the U.S. lumber industry's decision on whether to withdraw its complaint about what its spokesmen say are unfairly high subsidies to the Canadian industry. Instead, the leaders were ready to raise the price of Canadian softwood by an amount equivalent to the 15-per-cent U.S. duty. Declared Mulroney: "Canada has

agreed—and we're speaking for Canada."

But critics here, among questions being raised about Mulroney's proposal, accused Peterson of going along with the other premiers, he warned that abandoning the legal fight against the U.S. tariff would set a dangerous precedent for other Canadian resources industries that might come under attack from the Americans. Adam Elmam, chairman of the Council of Forest Industries, which represents Canadian lumber companies, called it "heresy." And in Washington, there was little indication that the new proposal could settle the festering lumber dispute. The U.S. department of commerce said that it would go along with the Canadian approach—but the crucial decision rested with the American industry, which called the Canadian initiative inadequate. Said Alan Wolf, lawyer for the Coalition for Fair Lumber Imports: "I don't believe 15 per cent will do it."

In Ottawa the Opposition parties charged that Mulroney's bid to settle the softwood fight raised serious ques-

tions about his government's ability to manage its crucial trade talks. "I just can't understand how ill-divided this government is," said Liberal trade critic Lloyd Axworthy. "Every time they face a severity to show some strength they simply surrender." Added the country critic Jim Fulton: "The government, by backing down on its own very strong position, is now so bloodied that it's ready to make any deal with the United States to enter thousands of millions of dollars and thousands of jobs from Canada."

For Mulroney, the stakes in the dispute are high. The American industry has argued for years that Canadian lumber is unfairly subsidized because the free trade provisions charge companies for the right to harvest trees—called stumpage fees—on much less land. On Oct. 16, the U.S. commerce department imposed an interim tariff of 15 per cent—worth \$200 million a year. That angered the Canadian industry and it was used by critics of the government's strategy as evidence that Washington is not serious about negotiating a wider deal on free trade. "It's the most important political issue in trade that the United States has with Canada," said Saskatchewan Premier Grant Devine. "If you fix that one, it really opens the door for the rest of the free trade package."

The softwood issue was not on the agenda for the meeting. But it dominated events behind the scenes even before the first public session Thursday morning. Peterson and British Columbia Premier Bill Vander Zant arrived with conflicting views on how the battle should be handled. Vander Zant favored a compromise with Washington that would keep the 1700 million softwood market open.

For his part, Peterson insisted that a compromise would weaken Canada's legal position. "It's not a question of British Columbia versus Ottawa," he said. "It's a question of Canada versus the U.S."

A possible compromise emerged with the arrival of International Trade Minister Pat Carney Thursday morning.

Carney had been in New York Wednesday, where she had discussed a possible settlement with U.S. officials. From Vancouver she had a long telephone conversation with U.S. Commerce Secretary Malcolm Baldrige. According to federal officials, Carney reached a "verbal agreement" with Baldrige he would persuade the U.S. lumber industry to withdraw its complaint about Canadian imports, in return, Canada would increase provincial stumpage fees or other taxes to compensate for the 15-per-cent duty. Carney pointed that scenario to the premiers. Nine agreed to go along, but Peterson demurred. An Ottawa dispatch source told Mulroney's "Patriot" she was torn. He recognized that decisions like that are a federal responsibility and he wanted to go along in order to create a consensus. But he was also worried about the sovereignty implications.

But Carney said that the agreement she had reached with Baldrige would avoid some of the damage inflicted by the U.S. duty. By imposing new provincial fees or federal taxes, Canada would an effort raise the price of its lumber, both at home and in export markets. Money that otherwise would be paid to Washington as tariff duties would instead remain in Canada. At the same time, Carney conceded that such a move might force Canadian consumers to pay more for lumber. And she indicated that Canada's offer would not go higher than the 15 per cent now being charged by the Americans. But that statement was greeted with considerable skepticism. Only eight weeks ago, in an earlier attempt to resolve the issue, Carney had said Ottawa had made an offer and would go no higher. That offer, announced later, was only 10 per cent.

Baldrige endorsed Carney's approach, but the endorsement was put in serious doubt by the anti- and negative-reaction of the American industry. Trade lawyer Wolf said that the U.S. trade mission was confident it would win a duty of at least 20 per cent by pursuing its complaint against Canadian imports. Under American law, the industry must approve any settlement of its complaint—no matter how Washington would like the deal. Mulroney, 58, as the conference ended on Friday, Mulroney and Carney appeared satisfied that their agreement would bear fruit. Said Carney: "We consider that Secretary Baldrige will make every effort to ensure that this matter is brought to a happy ending." But the compromising language coming from the American lumbermen only underlined how difficult his task will be.

—MICHAEL ROSE with JANE O'HARA in Montreal, JACIE CLARK in Ottawa and JIM AUSTON in Washington

Turner's bandwagon

There are small, momentary signs as to whether that sense of the people as it briefly looked as if they might fall off. Two dozen members of Parliament, senators, former cabinet ministers and other senior Liberals stood on the platform in an Ottawa hotel ballroom last week for one reason: to declare that they would vote at a party convention this weekend to

send their galvanizing opinion polls about his popularity. But they seemed to go about the task hesitantly. Said Gary McInnis, a pro-renewal organizer and former New Brunswick M.P.: "People want to be left alone. They have both sides of the debate now and don't want their areas tested."

Although Turner kept a low profile, he was treated to round after round of good news. Donald Johnston, the Montreal M.P. who shared the throne in the 1984 Liberal leadership campaign, ended weeks of public ambivalence by endorsing him. Five former national presidents of the party and two other former ministers, Monique Bégin and Judy Elin, followed suit. A survey by The Canadian Press, which reached 100 of the 282 Liberal riding presidents, indicated that Turner would gain the support of 70 per cent of the 5300 conservative delegates. Indeed, Turner organizers said their support actually increased after former cabinet minister Mike Mantha called for a revision on Nov. 11.



Turner at Ottawa press party: a stream of endorsements

keep John Turner as their leader. Some delivered brief pep talks. Others simply stood awkwardly holding drinks. And although most of the 400 people in the audience appeared more concerned about their cocktails than the speeches, the message got through. Above the din, Jean-Jacques Blais, a former Liberal minister, declared: "There is a movement out there, not just for the party, but for the leader!"

Indeed, as the convention approached, a stream of ex-Liberals came forward to endorse Turner. Those seeking for a leadership review continued to phone delegates—and

to spill onto the one session floor. But Turner's supporters were feeling their strength. As they gathered to hear Blais and others endorse Turner, some, as alternate youth delegate from Barrington, Ont., to complain about his pro-renewal stance. Francis, Cameron said defiantly: "We are not a bunch of kooks." The Turner forces did not change Cameron's mind—but the string of endorsements left them more bullish about the Liberal leader's fortunes than they had been before.

—PAUL GOSWELL in Ottawa



Janssen, smiling the Commons in 1978: a great capacity for friendship

The voice of the Rock

His former colleagues did not watch his legendary eloquence, but the tributes to Donald Campbell Janssen flowed effusively last week from both sides of the House of Commons. Shocked by his death at age 66, members of Parliament re-examined the grace of Janssen's speech as well as his adept handling of five cabinet portfolios during 13 years as a Liberal minister. Said Liberal Leader John Turner, who served in the cabinet with Janssen during the 1970s: "He had a great capacity for friendship. He was undoubtedly one of the most popular human beings around."

In St. John's, Colin Janssen said that his brother had recently started exercising regularly, had lost weight and was feeling healthier than he had in a long time. But on the morning of Nov. 18, Janssen suffered a heart attack and collapsed during a morning walk near his home in Swift Current, S.D., and died before reaching hospital.

Janssen had retired last year to Swift Current, a fishing community of just 550 people on the Basin Peninsula on the north coast of Newfoundland, near where his father grew up. He had been working as a book about Newfoundland's place in Canada from Confederation in 1949 to the 1980s.

Janssen himself played a central role in the province's history. During the late 1940s he actively campaigned against joining Canada. Instead, he ad-

voated union with the United States. But after Confederation, he became a fervent Canadian nationalist. In the following decades Janssen helped establish and run radio and television stations (one in St. John's, became a published broadcast performer and served as president of the Canadian Association of Broadcasters).

After winning election to the Commons in a 1968 by-election, Janssen was named minister of defense production in the first cabinet of Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau. He later headed the departments of transport, regional economic expansion, industry, trade and commerce, and external affairs. Resigning his seat immediately after the Liberals lost power to the Conservatives in 1979, Janssen assumed the leadership of the Newfoundland Liberals. But he lost an early election campaign to Tony Brian, Newfound and quit politics the following year. In 1988 Trudeau named Janssen to his Realpolitik post—Canada's high commissioner to Britain.

In retirement, Janssen was much in demand as a public speaker. George Edley, neo-principal of the Swift Current All-Grade School, said that Janssen loved talking to students. "He always told young people: Look, I did it. You can do it too." He was always up of the people. And that is certainly how he will be remembered.

—CINDY BARRETT with CAROL GOODWIN in St. John's

Backing the vigilantes

At about 9:30 p.m. on Nov. 18 a young man walked into Diguemur Benjamin's, a convenience store on Logan Street in a residential district of east-end Montreal. According to an account later given to police by shopkeeper Guy Guilbeault, the man strolled around the store while a woman customer made a purchase, then approached the counter and paid for a bag of potato chips and some juice with a \$10 bill. As Guilbeault opened the cash drawer, the man suddenly drew a gun from his pocket, lunged around the counter and grabbed about \$300. Instinctively, Guilbeault reached for the 357 magnum revolver he kept under the counter and shouted "Guns! Gun!" (that's French). As the man lurched away, the shopkeeper fired a single shot. The thief ran out the doorway, but collapsed six or seven metres away. Within minutes he was dead.

At work and Montreal police were still weighing whether to charge Guilbeault in the death of the robber, identified as Jean-Marc Proulx, 28, who they said was a criminal with a lengthy record. But the killing renewed a heated debate about violent crime and the right to self-defence—a debate that had begun 18 days earlier after a similar incident in Calgary, Alberta, after being robbed at gunpoint in his droptop, Steven Keeler chased off-year-old Timothy Smith (via that \$10 bill) and allegedly killed him with a blast from a shotgun. When police charged Keeler with second-degree murder, fellow store owners and hundreds of other Calgarians raised more than \$25,000 to pay his legal expenses.

Montrealers reacted in a similar fashion, flooding radio shows with calls in support of Guilbeault's action. At times the public response seemed to echo the wave of sympathy for Henry Gault, the white New York City resident who shot four black youths when they accosted him on a subway train in December, 1984. In the House of Commons, Conservative MP Elliott Harday asked, "Is anyone innocent?" Is anyone, hearing the cry among serious our nation? Victims of crime are fighting back—and the average person sympathizes.

In Montreal, radio station CHY reported that calls to its morning agency show were flooding 3 to 1 in favor of Guilbeault, 22. Radio host John Oakley "He's seen as a hero." Other con-



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women store owners also expressed support. Tina Pappas, 36, who was robbed once at her store and three times at a previous location, called the shooting "a senseless crime." Others disagreed. Said Guy Penfold, 38, manager of a corner store: "It is really worth it for 300 bucks? Any life has to be worth more than that."

In Calgary, feelings were just as intense. The Calgary Herald published more than two pages of letters, almost all backing Keiser, and one supporter nicknamed him as the city's citizen of the year. Matteson Scott Baron even wrote a song praising the 40-year-old Yugoslavian immigrant. "People are fighting mad," said Jon Lord, owner of a videotape rental outlet and chairman of the defense fund. "We didn't want to see him named because two parks tried to rob him."

Lord said that if the defense group raises enough money, it will use some of it to lobby the government "for laws to keep criminals off the streets." Other Keiser supporters noted that as a consequence in the drugstore robbery, Jean-Pierre Plouffe, 32, was free on bail when he took part in the crime-swallowing trial on charges of robbing Keiser's drugstore last April. Scott himself was in prison from a federal penitentiary in Edmonton. Scott, Calgary police were alarmed at the whole reaction to the slaying. "The police are here so the individual citizen doesn't have to get involved in gunfights," said Sgt. Frank Mitchell. "Innocent bystanders can do it. Moreover, Montreal police cited important differences between the Keiser and Guilbeault cases. While Keiser pursued Scott, Guilbeault fired while the thief was still inside his store."

At week's end, the slightly built, dark-haired Keiser was not shuffling even in front of his store after being released on \$1,000 bail. Appearing in court on Friday, his lawyer said he would seek a jury trial when the case comes up, probably sometime next spring. Said Keiser: "It's tremendous to know so many people are 100-percent behind me." In Montreal, Guilbeault spent a day back in his store last week, declaring to the shopkeeper in comment on the shooting: "I didn't have time to think about it," he said. "It all happened in about 10 seconds." But his friend Jean-Pierre Arsenault said Guilbeault was very upset, he didn't even go to the body. "The shopkeeper, Arsenault added, found one fact particularly troubling. Although Guilbeault could not have known it at the time, police say Plouffe was armed only with a pellet gun.

—MARCOUS GEE with LISA VAN EUDEN in Montreal and JAMES HOGAN in Calgary

Stevens on the attack

Stevens made some allegations of his own last week. For 17 weeks the former Conservative minister had sat by as a parade of witnesses testified at a public inquiry about conflict-of-interest allegations that have been made against him. But as Stevens began a full week of telling his side of the story, he accused the



The Stevens rule the subway last week's confessions

Canadian Association of Japanese Automobile Dealers of feeding misinformation to the Toronto Globe and Mail as part of a conspiracy to discredit him and the government. Stevens claimed that the association was angry because he had deflected federal policy that favored Japanese automobiles and hurt its members. During cross-examination, a columnist Stevens exchanged barbs with association lawyer David Seatt. After one persistent line of questioning, Stevens lashed out. "The type of thing is exactly what The Globe and Mail tried to trigger in their writings when their character assassination was under way."

As the inquiry ended its public testimony, Stevens remained steadfast in his denials that he breached federal conflict-of-interest guidelines while he was minister of regional industrial expansion from 1984 until his resignation

last May over the conflict. Issue One key allegation is that his wife and business partner, Noreen, negotiated a \$25-million loan for their holding company, York Centre Corp., from the co-founder of a firm that received \$25 million in grants from Stevens's government department. But Stevens testified that he had gone "a mile above" what the guidelines required to guard against even the appearance of conflict, making sure that he received as little information as possible about his family companies when he placed his assets in a third trust. Said Stevens: "When you are in politics, appearances are often more important than reality."

There were also a few lighter moments. At one point, Stevens could not explain how York Centre documents got into his briefcase while he was in Ottawa. "I didn't do it. Absolutely not. You could have," Stevens testified. "There were not time bombs, Mr. Stevens," snapped a Toronto Star. "Well, I would hope you wouldn't put a time bomb in my bag," Stevens smiled. But the mood turned confrontational again when Stevens said that his role as manager of the family businesses has been questioned partly because of her gender. Staring at Scott, Stevens shouted, "The reality is that my wife is a woman!"

As Stevens concluded his testimony, Seatt seemed in no mood of the most potentially damaging charges against the former minister, that he mixed personal business with government business during a trip with his wife to New York in 1985. Stevens acknowledged that during a meeting with officials of the Chase Manhattan Capital Markets Group he discussed both government contracts and a real estate deal. But Noreen Stevens wanted to market. But even that, Stevens said, did not violate the conflict guidelines Ontario High Court Judge William Parker, who heads the inquiry, must decide whether he agrees.

—DEBBIE AKENFELD in Toronto

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Disputed sales to Iran

For 20 years Pratt & Whitney Canada Inc. of Longmont, Que., has boasted that its PT6 aircraft engine are the finest in the world. Indeed, the company has sold more than 20,000 of the sticky turbines, capturing an impressive 50 per cent of the world market. Today, PT6s power light airplanes flying over New York City and helicopters over burned-out lands along the Iran-Iraq border, some of one of the bloodiest conflicts of this generation. Last week, Pratt's small role in that brutal war revived an old debate about Ottawa's ability—and desire—to police Canada's involvement in the arms trade.

The controversy erupted when the Los Angeles Times reported that Ottawa had given Pratt permission to ship parts to Iran. In Parliament, Deputy Prime Minister Don Mazankowski said that Ottawa had approved the shipment, worth \$3.8 million, because of assurances by Pratt that the parts were for nonmilitary use in 13 Bell 412 transport helicopters purchased by Iran in the 1970s. But Liberal trade critic Lloyd Axworthy pointed out that Iran had also purchased 202 deadly Bell Cobra helicopter gunships, which

are powered by a similar version of the PT6.

At first, Mazankowski rejected the notion that the parts would have been used on the gunships. The following day he conceded that the engine parts could be used by the military, but said that such an adaptation would amount to "putting a Volkswagen engine in a

The engine shipment revived an old debate about Ottawa's ability to police Canada's involvement in the arms trade

Mask truck." He added that Pratt had already shipped almost a quarter of the order, but had postponed shipment of the rest. Said Frank McGuire, editor of *Helicopter News*, an industry newsletter: "They're the same engine. The odds are about a thousand to one against any of those parts going into commercial service."

Federal law bans exports of military goods to countries that pose a threat,

are at war or under United Nations sanction, or persistently violate human rights. But nothing prevents either countries from installing Canadian products as weapons, then re-exporting them to war zones. In one case, Pratt sold PT6 engines to an Italian firm that installed them in helicopters armed for anticomunista warfare—then sold the helicopters to Iraq.

Last year Canada exported \$1.9 billion worth of military goods, \$1.6 billion of it to the United States. Only \$104 million worth of arms went directly to the Third World, where use in combat is more likely. "They're pushing it to last but not," said Kevin Hagler, research co-ordinator of the disarmament group Project Ploughshares. "But it's a very competitive market."

Still, a customs officer in Canada conceded recently that "so many Iranian agents are running around looking for spare parts that catching them is like shooting fish in a barrel." As a result, customs officers say that they would not be surprised if there were other cases like Pratt & Whitney said one. "What is written in the law enforced instead often has little to do with what goes on in the political back rooms."

—MARK CLARK, in Ottawa with
BRUCE WALLACE in Montreal

Manitoba cleans house

For weeks, speculation in Manitoba had been building that when cabinet minister Alvin Mackling tabled an auditor's report on MTS Telecom Services Ltd., high-level resignations would follow. Mackling had commissioned the accounting firm of Coopers & Lybrand in August to conduct the investigation after an annual legislative review of MTS—a subsidiary of the Manitoba Telephone System (MTS) established to market communications technology overseas—uncovered allegations of bribery, kickbacks and mismanagement in its Saudi Arabian operations. The rumors proved correct. But among the final casualties on last week's list of resignations and firings: Mackling himself, as the minister responsible for MTS.

Still, Mackling remains in Premier Howard Payton's New Democratic cabinet as minister of labor and consumer and corporate affairs. But the government asked for and received the resignations of both MTS president Gordon Holland and the firm's executive vice-president, Glover Anderson. And when MTS president Donald Plunkett, MTS vice-president of finance Maurice Provancher and Michael Ay-

xon, former general manager of the Saudi operation, refused to resign, the government fired them. The report accused all five men of mismanagement and said "senior executives responsible for MTS and MTS must accept ultimate responsibility for exposing the corpse."

ration to significant business risks and financial losses." Mackling himself was not singled out, but as minister, he said he would assume responsibility for the problems at MTS. At the same time, he said, "I feel no personal fault in this matter."

Although the report did not say whether bribery and kickbacks were a routine business practice of MTS operations in Saudi Arabia—an RCMP team is investigating those charges—it did estimate that the firm's poor business judgment could cost Manitoba as much as \$25 million. Its conclusion that MTS has "had inadequate management resources and leadership" based on the

study, Mackling, who described MTS earlier this year as an "asset with a bright future," said that the Saudi Arabian venture—operated in partnership with Saudi interests—would be dissolved immediately. MTS staff will also start winding down operations, according to Mackling.

But Conservative MTS Donald Orchard, a strong critic of MTS since its establishment, was not satisfied.

A number of the legislative committee that reviewed MTS affairs during the summer, Orchard had attacked its members when he tabled the allegations—made in two severe affidavits by former employees who had worked for Agman in Saudi Arabia. Said Orchard: "They had the warnings on the wall and they chose to ignore them." Denying his demand for a public inquiry, he said that the Coopers & Lybrand report had only scratched the surface of the MTS affair. Meanwhile, both the government and the opposition waited for the results of the recent investigation.

—BOB SCHER in Winnipeg



Mackling resigned

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The case of the missing microfiche

Revenue Minister Elmer MacKay was midway through a routine briefing on Nov. 4 when the call came in. Deputy minister Harry Bogart was on the line and he had an unsettling report: five days earlier someone had taken the personal tax records of 18 million Canadians from a locked room on the 16th floor of the Toronto district taxation office. Security staff had combed the building, but the 3,200

last year Revenue Canada immediately suspended a junior employee without pay and launched a nationwide review of tax-record security. But the incident raised serious questions about the government's ability to safeguard personal information entrusted to it by the public. Social Opposition Leader John Turner "Nothing is more sacrosanct in a free society than a taxpayer's individual affairs."

presented them to a local newspaper to show how easily it could be done.

Revenue Canada spokesman John Rams admitted that the department's reputation had been "shattered" by the incident. To tighten security, Rams said, the department would take an inventory of records, tighten procedures for dealing with people requesting tax information over the phone and suspend nighttime cleaning operations at offices where confidential documents are kept.

By week's end, no changes had been laid in the case. But there was a theory about why it happened. The Toronto Star reported that a man named Andreas Hackner, a 36-year-old junior tax assistant employed by Revenue Canada's Toronto office, spoke to one of its reporters last July. Hackner wanted to know how he could obtain information from books about inactive accounts.

He was referred to a Star story which said that businessmen buy microfiche records from banks to help them track down owners of unclaimed accounts—and then collect a fee for locating the money. Since 1945 the Bank of Canada has discontinued 90,000 such accounts

containing \$66 million, some belonging to deceased investors and others that had simply been forgotten. Last week Hackner neither admitted nor denied taking the tax files. But he told the newspaper, "In no way was this information used to the detriment of Canadians."

The incident drew attention to the problems of storing sensitive information on microfiche. Harry Baker, compliance director at the Privacy Commissioner's Office in Ottawa, said that information that once filled 35 binders can now be stored on microfiche in a shoebox. As a result, security risks have increased dramatically, and Baker said that his office would study the security of microfiche records throughout the public service. One possible solution placing the records on computers and controlling access to them much more carefully.

—MAGDALENE DROBMAN in Ottawa



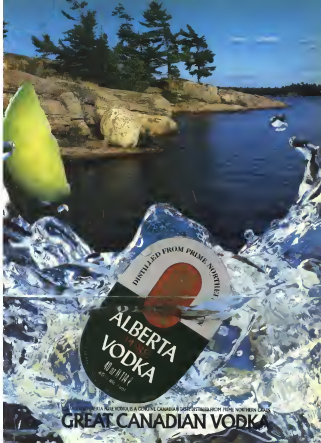
MacKay (left), Hackner "disappears" files; and a nationwide review of tax-record security

microfiche, about enough to fit in a shoebox, had disappeared. Reluctantly, Toronto officials had alerted head office about the loss. Angry at the security breach—and the "microfiche delay" in informing him—MacKay contacted the RCMP the next day and asked them to investigate. But he waited until last week to make the incident public. It was, he told a hushed House of Commons, "an unacceptable breach of security."

Within hours of MacKay's announcement, the missing records reappeared. A lawyer representing an employee at Revenue Canada's Toronto office turned over the stack of microfiche—transparent sheets of photographic film about the size of an index card—to the RCMP criminal crime squad. They contained names, addresses, social insurance numbers, dates of birth, and other personal information—but not actual income data—for every Canadian who filed a tax return

In response, MacKay urged Canadians not to overreact. The information in the records, he said, could not be used to obtain detailed financial data from individual tax returns. And he added that there was not enough information to allow anyone to make fraudulent applications for birth certificates, passports, unemployment insurance or old age security payments.

The opposition quickly put these claims to the test. Liberal MP Allan Rock said that his secretary had managed to obtain details of his tax records merely by telephoning the Montreal tax office with his social insurance number, birth date and address. A member of Ed Broadbent's staff used similar information to gain access to the New Democratic Party leader's credit rating from a bank. And an employee at a Canada Employment Centre in Kitchener, Ont., took microfiche records from the centre and



ALBERTA VODKA IS A GENUINE CANADIAN DISTILLATION FROM PURE NORTHERN GRAIN

GREAT CANADIAN VODKA

Scorched-earth warfare

December marks the seventh anniversary of the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan. The subsequent war of resistance has proved to be a shattering, causing the destruction of hundreds of disillusioned Soviet soldiers—including the five whom the Canadian government spirited out of the country last week. The war has cost thousands of lives and created the world's largest refugee problem. But reports of the war's aftermath are mixed. However, some reporters manage to trek over the rugged mountain trails from Pakistan to talk up with units of the Mujaheddin resistance—Islamic guerrillas trying to overthrow the Soviet-backed regime in Kabul. Nathan's correspondent Richard Kiley recently returned from his third such trip. His report:

On a clear blue sky, three Soviet Yakovlev tactical bombers dived solemnly to release their deadly loads, then swooped up again to clear the rugged peaks of the Hindu Kush mountains. As the bombs erupted in the Shindar Khel valley below, the sound of the strike raked over the forested foothills like thunder. The bombs had not hit a target of any obvious military significance but rather a group of mud-brick farm buildings clustered on the floor of the once-beautiful valley. Still, the Soviet attack was neither random nor the result of faulty intelligence. Instead, it was part of a ruthless campaign aimed at starving the Mujaheddin into submission by destroying the source of their food supplies.

Soviet jets and helicopters have been waging continuous scorched-earth warfare for the past four months. The rebels say, poisoning villages and farms in Afghanistan's fertile northern and eastern provinces. "With the

war in a strategic stalemate," said Afghan scholar and Mujaheddin spokesman Sayed Majrooh, "the Soviets are making a last-ditch effort to win outright by destroying the country's agricultural infrastructure." International relief specialists, working in the desperately crowded refugee camps across

the border in Pakistan, say that the Soviet campaign may cause a full-scale famine—perhaps as serious as Ethiopia's. And, said Dr. Muhammad Bender, medical co-ordinator for the Swedish Humanitarian Committee, "at least in Ethiopia the international aid agencies could get in and help. But in Afghanistan it is very different. I see no way that enough aid could get in."

Judging from the scenes in the Shindar Khel valley during a tour under Mujaheddin escort, the Soviets are well on the way to achieving their objective. The valley was home to 20,000 people before the invasion seven years



Afghan fighters with burned-out Soviet tanks: a war of resistance becomes a deadly stalemate.

ago, but it is now almost deserted. Its villages have been bombed to rubble, its irrigation canals are wrecked and dry, and the handful of farmers brave enough to remain say that they only work their fields at night for fear of attack from the air. So far, dwindling food supplies do not seem to have seri-

ously impaired the Mujaheddin's fighting ability. But if widespread famine turns to mass starvation—as it could this winter—the effect on the resistance could be disastrous. Said one Western aid worker: "If all the harvest is destroyed and all the people leave, there will be nowhere for the Mujaheddin to find food and shelter."

The fighting has grown more intense over the past year. The Mujaheddin, who number about 200,000, usually strike under cover of night and then melt back into the countryside, although lately the trend has been to

ward larger and longer battles. The Soviets have become wary of the rebels' skillful use of Soviet rockets, when Soviet armored columns travel Afghanistan's exposed desert roads, they are escorted by jets and helicopters. And there is evidence that better weapons are beginning to trickle through to the resistance. Last month five Soviet helicopters were shot down near the eastern city of Jalalabad, allegedly by guerrillas armed with British shoulder-fired surface-to-air missiles. At a rebel hideout in Paktia province, I saw stacks of new heavy machine-guns and land mines, many bearing Chinese markings. Said rebel commander Mahomet Nassef: "For once we have enough arms."



Hoards of proper tribal customs and bitter feigning among the Mujaheddin.

The Soviets, however, have also updated their arsenal. Increasingly, they have been replacing slow-moving blind helicopter gunships with Su 26 and Su 26 jet bombers equipped with sophisticated electronics and infrared suppression systems that can nullify all but the best surface-to-air missiles. The Red Army now has an estimated 115,000 troops in Afghanistan, supported by 30,000 Afghan regulars. Most observers say that Moscow's much-publicized continuing withdrawal of some 7,000 troops will have as effect on the strategic balance of the war. The majority of the forces in-

land, or Islamic party. Beginning as a small, ill-equipped rebel band during the 1978 Afghan civil war that preceded the Soviet invasion, the Hezb-i-Islami has grown into a formidable force of nearly 100,000 armed guerrillas supported by more than one million Afghan civilians. "As an armed force," the Hezb made the PLO (Palestine Liberation Organization) look like a backyard operation.

The Islamic party has also made the rebels look increasingly divided. "There is an outright civil war raging in the central highlands," said Nassef.

involved are attached to avowedly tribal, tribalism, and the rebels have never had any airplanes. And there are reports that more useful Soviet troops have already replaced these sent home.

Beyond their Soviet opponents, the Mujaheddin have also been fighting among themselves. Armed clashes are increasingly frequent among the rebels' rival tribal and religious groups, which range from pro-Western moderates to Muslim fundamentalists. Some 80 per cent of Afghanistan's people adhere to the Sunni sect of Islam, and although they lack the radical religious zeal of Iranian Shiite fundamentalism is clearly on the rise. The largest and most fundamentalist of all the Mujaheddin groups is the Hezb-i-

Kharij, half investigator for the New York-based International Federation for Human Rights. "I see the fundamentalists attack a group of moderate Mujaheddin in Wardak province." Leaders of other guerrilla groups have similar claims. But Gulabuddin Hekmatyar, the Hezb-i-Islami's leader of the Hezb-i-Islami, denies the charges. "Our party is growing while the others are losing their memberships," said Hekmatyar. "They fear our power, and this is why they are attacking us."

Many Pakistani politicians say that Hekmatyar is the only leader with a chance of uniting all the Mujaheddin groups. The 36-year-old engineer is the youngest and most charismatic of all the rebel leaders, and he is the only one who personally leads his men into battle. In an effort to gain wider acceptance, he recently organized free elections among his followers, who chose new military commanders and provincial resistance leaders throughout Afghanistan. "Hekmatyar is the man to watch," said A. S. Yousfi, a correspondent for Durrani, a leading Pakistani newspaper. "He is the only rebel leader who is renowned as both a politician and a fighter." Still, Hekmatyar does not have the unqualified support of a major Western power, and it remains uncertain whether he can ante his people.

For many Afghans, the internal politics of the rebel movement seem remote. According to a recent United Nations survey, five million of them—over-third of the growing population—have fled the country for squashed refugee camps in Pakistan and Iran. Despite millions of dollars in humanitarian aid each year from Western and Middle Eastern countries, the densely populated camps are breeding grounds for diseases such as tuberculosis, whooping cough and malaria—and for nothing discontent. Said Baiti: "The Afghan people hate the Soviets and feel betrayed by the West. If the war does not end, we could see an unprecedented wave of terrorism coming from the misery of these camps."

Thousands more Afghans are expected to flee the country during the hard winter ahead—particularly if the Soviets continue their campaign of bombing farms and villages. Many farmers are already fleeing to the last of their grain, leaving little or nothing for the spring planting. Among the landless poor, many may starve to death. Meanwhile, is the diplomatic effort following the failed U.S.-Soviet summit at Reykjavik, the war in Afghanistan is only likely to become the subject of serious negotiation. And as long as the Soviets remain in Afghanistan, the bloody war of attrition can only continue.



Reagan at press conference: "There may be some misunderstanding of my answers."

THE UNITED STATES

Mistakes under pressure

Rarely has Ronald Reagan looked so uncomfortable for so long on national television. In a nationally broadcast news conference last week, the President answered that he had ordered an end to controversial American arms shipments to Iran "to eliminate the widespread but mistaken perception that we have been exchanging arms for hostages." In a halting and hurried performance under tough questioning, Reagan insisted that he "was not breaking any law" by keeping the weapon sales secret from Congress for 18 months. He also said that the deliveries, which violated his own arms embargo, had not been a "sleaze." But even his supporters said that he was equivocating. Three times he denied that Washington had conveyed arms shipments to Iran by a third country—referring to Israel. But no sooner had the conference ended than the White House issued a correction in Reagan's name: "There may be some misunderstanding of my answers to-night," the statement said. "There was a third country involved."

As an exercise in damage control, Reagan's TV appearance did not succeed. In a Washington *Post/ABC* poll

taken after the news conference, 58 percent of respondents disapproved of swapping arms for hostages and 50 percent said that they disbelieved Reagan's claim that he had not done so. The shapshot included Reagan disarray in the American backyard, suggesting that not only was the President's foreign policy floundering, but his credibility—and his failed 1980 campaign—had been gutted (page 58). In Congress a class of bipartisan critics continued to rage, and at week's end both the Senate and the House intelligence committees opened hearings into the arms sales. Even Robert McFarlane, the former national security adviser who masterminded the arms-to-Iran program, and last week that he had made a "mistake." And White House officials predicted that heads would soon roll.

Reagan's troubles began four weeks ago, when press reports in the Middle East revealed secret U.S.-Iranian contacts during back approximately to May, 1985. The exchanges resulted in a series of arms shipments to Iran by the United States and third countries—not only Israel, but reportedly France, Portugal and others—which coincided with the release of three

American hostages. White House officials insisted that Washington had only been trying to win influence with Iranian government moderates and claimed that the operation had helped to lessen Iran's involvement in terrorism. But in a Sunday re-interview, U.S. Secretary of State George Shultz rejected that claim—and said that, in his view, no more arms should be sent.

At his press conference three days later, while denying reports that Shultz had threatened to resign, Reagan said there would indeed be no more shipments. He also mentioned that his administration had sent Iran only "small amounts of defensive arms and parts." But Democrat Jim Wright of Texas, who will become Speaker of the House of Representatives in January, said that he had been told by Admiral John Ponder, Reagan's national security adviser, that 2,000 TOW antitank missiles and at least 250 Hawk air-to-aircraft missiles had been sent to Iran. Those hardly seem to be "small" quantities, and military experts say could such weapons be termed defensive.

Congressional critics also disputed Reagan's contention that he broke no laws in carrying out his Iranian operation. The key law at issue is the Intelligence Oversight Act of 1980, which requires the President to report covert actions to Congress in a "timely" fashion. The question is what constitutes timely. "I can see 18 hours," said Wright, "but 18 months is ridiculous."

As the Iranian affair spread, so did speculation that Reagan, despite his legendary loyalty to staff, would be forced to throw insiders pointed to President as the Whistle-blower, while White House chief of staff Donald Regan was another frequently mentioned candidate. Both are widely blamed for not warning their leader sufficiently of the dangers of selling arms to Iran. Now, Reagan knows those dangers all too well. And the President, who built his enormous popularity on personal appeal, must find a way to recapture his confidence—or spend his remaining two years in office as a decidedly lame duck.

—BOB LEVIN with WILLIAM LUTHERIE in Washington

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Now you're ready for

Frangelico
liqueur



How Ronald Reagan played in Peoria

Ostensibly Ray's Peoria Inn, ("Peoria's Finest—Prime Rib Special For Two \$9.95"), a spotlight was turned proudly on the Stars and Stripes as it fluttered in the chill Illinois night. Inside, patriotism was stirring emotions as thick and pungent as the cheese spread that was plunked down on the red-checkered tablecloths with the

Hanes, 32, a recently retired doctor, shook his head in disbelief. "It strikes me he's just lying and covering up," Hanes and Nursing a south at a nearby table, Robert Robinson, a cattle broker who called himself a staunch Reagan supporter, reluctantly agreed. "I really don't believe him either," he said. "He pulled a two-ton and now he's trying to protect his belt."

acting soft on Iran. After all, Iran was the country that had humiliated the United States seven years ago by taking 52 American hostages and holding them for 444 days. Such surrender Dick Cheney. "Reagan should have looked Iran a long time ago."

The strength of the disillusionment at Ray's was startling, cutting as it did in a city whose demographics made it the very heartland of Middle America and which *The New York Times* once described as the "Republican back-yard." Over the six years of his presidency, Reagan's popularity in Peoria had remained intact under a series of blows that crippled the local economy and nibbled the city of 20,000 jobs as plants shut down. Since 1981, Caterpillar, the earth-moving giant that is the city's mainstay, has laid off nearly 20,000 workers. In fact, on the very day of Reagan's press conference, Cat, as it is known locally, had announced another 120 layoffs. At Henry's Center Tap, a dingy tavern across from Caterpillar's main gate, foreign policy concerns seemed



Ray's Peoria Inn: glamorous, drafty, best and patriotic emotions as thick as the cheese spread

draft beer. President Ronald Reagan's Wednesday-night press conference—called as that he could explain his controversial dealings with Iran—was about to begin.

A beach had fallen over the hundreds in Peoria, population 128,000, the town that former White House chief of staff John Ehrlichman inadvertently made famous. Playing on an old political phrase, he advised President Richard Nixon in 1973 that he would serve the moonlighting Watergate scandal so long as his explanation "played in Peoria." Last week another Republican president—one who was born only 80 km upstate in Tangipah, who played football for Service College in a suburb of Peoria and was regarded almost as a local god—was having a similar problem with his credibility.

Up on the TV screen amid the rows of beer bottles and someone T-shirts, Reagan was insisting that he had not traded arms to Iran for hostages. But, leaning on the red leatherette bar, Mike

In fact, Reagan's press conference played at Ray's Peoria Inn much as it seemed to do across the nation—most simply did not believe him. When he denied endorsing three-country arms shipments to Iran, Ray's regulars started with demands. "Why that's a bald-faced lie!" and waitress Judy Robinson. Neither did Reagan's apparent lapses in logic pass unnoticed. "Why the hell did they give us the hostages when we gave them arms if there was no trade?" demanded Bob Knott, assistant manager of a local department store. And Ron Debus, a state union official, bristled over his state of prime rib. "He's undermining our intelligence."

In one corner of Ray's, a few Republican faithfuls got the whole affair down to the media, jumping on a decent man who had just been trying to do his job. But overwhelmingly, Ray's regulars found that Reagan had badly let down America's sense of its own machines by talking tough and then

longer on the billiard table. Said Don Cook, a Cat veteran: "I don't even know where Iran is, except it's way over there. We've got problems again here."

Through the years in which these problems have proliferated, Peoria has faithfully sent Representative Robert Michel back to Washington, where as House Republican leader he serves as the President's point man. But Michel declined that honor as the Iranian question and went so far as to express his reservations to the Peoria Journal Star.

After Reagan's press conference, Michel's district representative, Ray LaHood, conceded that even Republican loyalists "are saying Reagan didn't handle it very well." Added LaHood: "It would have been a lot better if he had said, 'We made an error in judgment and we're going to move on from here.'"

—MARK MCDOUGALL in Peoria



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Funeral for Orlina and his driver: a bold celebration amid calls for action

THE PHILIPPINES

Aquino in a cross-fire

From the left and the right, the political pressures on Philippine

President Corason Aquino built up memorably last week. More than 100,000 leftists, including several members of the outlawed Communist party, marched openly in a funeral procession for slain labor leader Benigno Orlina and his driver in Manila. At the same time, armed forces chief of staff Fidel Ramos advised Aquino in a letter to cut himself of left-leaning cabinet ministers. And evidence mounted daily that some groups were attempting to destabilize Aquino's nine-month-old government. On Nov. 15, two days after Orlina's murder, Japanese businessman Nobuyuki Wakiyeji was kidnapped. And on the 16th, gunmen ambushed a car outside the capital, killing conservative politician David Ponce, his driver and his lawyer. On the same day, a bomb exploded in a crowded Manila department store, injuring 30 people. Fighting for the beleaguered political center, Aquino declared in a televised address, "We shall never be shaken again, not by the Communists who did nothing to help us restore our democracy as we understand it, nor to the mad sensations of the right wing who hunger to be our masters again."

But Aquino was hard pressed to appease detractors at both ends of the political spectrum who said that they disapproved of her policies. To ease pressures from such right-wing critics as Defense Minister Juan Ponce Enrile who launched a full-scale military assault on the Communist rebels, the president last week pledged a Nov. 30 deadline on government attempts to reach a ceasefire in the 17-year-long insurgency. For their part, the Communists, who broke off talks after Orlina's brutal torture and murder, expressed concern that Aquino would not be able to defend the country's fragile democracy against a right-wing resurgence led by the military. By week's end, right and left alike were calling for action from the presidential palace. "There is a climate of fear," said an Enrile supporter. "Cory has got to crack the whip. This country is going down the tubes."

Orlina's funeral procession last Thursday became a bold celebration of the country's leftist organizations. Taking more than two hours to pass along one past along a 10-km route, the procession appeared to be the largest leftist demonstration ever held in the streets of Manila. And it was the largest funeral march since Aquino's husband, Benigno, was

murdered in 1983.

For three Communist delegates to the ceasefire negotiations who live in hiding when not at the bargaining table, the Orlina funeral provided a rare taste of freedom. Marching within a cordon of security guards, Corason Wakiyeji said, "Oh, this is fantastic. This is the first time I have been out in the public like this in 15 years." In a speech to the massive crowd, Nick Enrile of the May 1st Movement, the 500,000-member union that Orlina had led, promised that the left would peacefully help Aquino dismantle "the remnants of fascism" in the Philippines. And Orlina's widow, Wakiyeji, appealed for calm. "We should control our emotions," she said. "Otherwise the forces of evil shall prevail."

But Aquino seemed prepared to respond to warnings that her government was taking on a leftist bias. There were signs that the letter from Gen. Ramos suggesting governmental changes could once again in first nature. Aquino's executive secretary, John Arroyo, the former human rights lawyer has been the frequent target of rightist attacks for his liberal views. According to presidential spokesmen, Teodoro Remon, Aquino was considering overruling Arroyo's powers. But Aquino was unlikely to allow the military to totally dictate her government's policies. She admitted that her government "could really be more effective," but added, "The case cannot possibly be something as extreme as a [military] coup. Democracy was never meant to be easy."

Despite her tentative steps to get tough with the left, the members at Orlina's funeral also appealed for the president's support. In a letter to Aquino, the married union leader's family warned against "belligerent extreme rightists." And the letter added, "We therefore appeal, Madame President, that you draw your strength from the masses at your doorstep. Should she choose to ignore the appeal, which seems likely, the next time Wakiyeji's far left takes to the streets they may be in open defiance of a president who is leading her political realities down to around her."

—LIN NEWMANN in Manila

Britain's new capitalists

Like most of her compatriots, British inventor Joan Loy had never invested in the stock market. But last year, the 36-year-old Londoner saw a newspaper advertisement for shares in British P&C, a state-owned energy firm that Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher's Conservative government was selling to private investors. Initially small investors like Loy decided to put \$3,000 into the company because, she recalled, "I was hoping to make a killing." In fact, the value of her shares has fallen by 10 per cent since last year. But the experience sparked her interest in the stock market, and two months ago Loy applied for 1,000 new shares in the Group P&C, a British savings bank. When she then sold them as the day of issue, she pocketed a profit of \$3,000. And in December, she plans to invest up to \$25,000 in British Gas P&C, another state-owned firm being sold to private investors. Said Loy: "Trading shares is like gambling. It's exciting—and once you get started, you're addicted."

Loy is typical of the record numbers of Britons who are putting money into stocks, in large part because of the government's privatization program, combined with tax breaks for small investors. A London-based financial consulting firm, Bess Rogerson Ltd., estimates recently that since Thatcher won her second term in office in 1983, the number of Britons who own shares in publicly traded companies has managed to reach half a million per million, or about 17 per cent of the adult population. Thatcher's government has transferred eight major state-owned companies worth a total of \$35 billion to the private sector. The prime minister calls the policy "popular capitalism" and her goal, experts say, is to break down the traditional schism between workers and management in Britain by giving ordinary people a stake in private industry.

The privatized companies include American International P&C, a chemicals manufacturer; British Aerospace P&C, and Cable and Wireless P&C, a telecommunications company. For the most part, small investors showed little interest in those firms, and the shares were sold mainly to professional and institutional investors. Then in

July, 1984, British-based luxury car maker Jaguar P&C began offering prospectuses to every Jaguar owner. The response was so great that brokers had to hold a lottery to decide which of the

of shares got exactly what they asked for, while large investors got fewer. "In effect," said Roger Nightingale, an economist at House Groot Ltd. in London, "the government indirectly



Thatcher: Lovers (below), British Airways Concorde (right) station divide out

small investors who had applied would get the shares.

A few months later the government launched an even more ambitious program to promote shares in British Telecommunications P&C, the national telephone company. Brochures on how to buy stock were sent to every telephone user in the country. In addition, small investors were offered because of free shares or vouchers entailing them to discounts on their telephone bills. When 2.1 million people took up the offer, the government imposed a limit of 800 on the number of shares allocated to any one investor, in that way ensuring that those who had applied for a relatively small number

discriminated in favor of the small investor.

Now, a high level of public interest in the British Gas offer is a strong indication that Thatcher's campaign to turn Britain into a nation of small shareholders is succeeding. The sale of the utility, which so-called analysts say is worth an estimated \$12 billion, will be Britain's largest all-over privatization and one of the largest public offerings on any stock market in the world. Four billion shares go on sale this week, starting on Nov. 23, priced at no more than \$1 each. "In the old days, stock trading was confined to a small elite in this country," said Ian Beer, vice-chairman in London of



Wood Gundy Inc., a Toronto-based investment dealer that is the lead underwriter for the Canadian portion of the issue. "Now, even taxi drivers and hairdressers are talking about buying into British Gas."

Another part of the government's strategy has been to encourage companies to offer stock to their own employees. In British Telecom's case, 96 per cent of the workforce, or 250,000 people, chose to become shareholders against the advice of their own union. And since 1979 the number of British firms that distribute stock to their employees as part of company profit-

unized workers who have shares in their own companies is underlining the old view that capitalism is a bad thing."

But clearly Thatcher also expects that her campaign to encourage share ownership will pay dividends at the next election. Very strong support for voters will likely be reluctant to vote for Labour leader Neil Kinnock if they believe that a government led by him would renationalize British Telecom, British Gas and other firms in which they held stock. Said economist Nightingale: "If the government just wanted to make money by selling off state as-

sets in France, the new conservative government of Prime Minister Jacques Chirac has proposed selling off \$50 billion worth of state-owned companies over the next five years. To get people into the habit of buying equity, the government plans to give employees of privatized companies the right to buy up to 10 per cent of the shares at a discount.

Still, critics of Thatcher's popular capitalism include former Conservative prime minister Harold Macmillan, who has accused the Tories of "selling the family silver" by transferring state assets to the private sector. And



sharing programs has increased to 1,063 from 36 according to the London Stock Exchange (LSE). The government's next move, said Nigel Lawson, chancellor of the exchequer, will be to introduce so-called personal equity plans, which will give tax breaks to people who invest up to \$4,000 a year in equities.

For Thatcher, the spread of share ownership is helping to create what she calls a "free enterprise, entrepreneurial culture" in a country that for decades has leaned toward state control of industry. "The prime minister is a firm believer in the benefits of capitalizing," said Madam Prime, president of the Adam Smith Institute, a conservative think tank, "and she has embarked on a mission to spread that zeal to others. She wants to show that when industry is profitable it helps everyone in society." Added Pottier, a director of Market & Opinion Research International, a London-based polling firm: "To some extent, the increase in the number of

sets, it could do it any number of ways. But it is deliberately trying to involve as many voters as possible. This is a Trojan horse to try to prevent the socialists from winning the next election."

The widespread interest in the British Gas flotation is partly the result of a massive advertising campaign. Last summer British television viewers were bombarded with ads explaining what the firm does—the utility supplies natural gas to 16.6 million homes and businesses—and extolling its virtues as an innovative energy corporation. Then, on Sept. 1, the campaign switched to a series of government-funded commercials featuring postmen, housewives, farmers and other ordinary Britons discussing how and when to buy British Gas shares. Similar ads have run in magazines, newspapers and on billboards around the country.

Encouraged by Britain's example, several other European countries are also promoting the idea of share own-

Bryan Gould, a Labour spokesman on trade and industry, said that the Tories' real motivation is to boost government revenues and increase the earnings of stockholders in the City, London's financial district.

Despite such complaints, the government is planning to issue shares in several other state-owned companies including British Airways, Rolls-Royce Ltd. and the British Airports Authority. And if the trend continues, small investors will buy a piece of those companies, too. But some analysts say that many new investors are in for a shock when the current bullmarket on the LSE ends. And when stock prices begin to fall, many individual shareholders may decide to bail out. Said pollster Hutton: "If a lot of people get their fingers burnt, it is certain to dampen the enthusiasm for owning shares." And in a falling market, Thatcher's "popular capitalism" could quickly become a political liability.

—ROSS LARSEN in London

After the Titan fell

Iran Boudy's Wall Street contacts were legendary, his 15-hour days frenetic and his profits from stock-market speculating breathtaking. He operated from behind a 160-line telephone bank, watched his employees on television monitors and barked buy or sell orders into a microphone dangling over his desk. Boudy, 46, was Wall Street's richest and most powerful arbitrageur—a

breed of investor that specializes in corporate takeovers and restructurings. But his reign is over, and last week the Securities and Exchange Commission (SEC) was investigating at least 16 other individuals linked to Boudy.

In addition, a federal grand jury began questioning executives at Dressel Burnham Lambert Inc., an aggressive and growing New York-based invest-

ment bank which has raised billions of dollars to finance corporate takeovers in recent years. And the Senate banking committee in Washington was planning hearings on insider trading. According to congressional aides, the committee intended to look at increasing the SEC budget and perhaps drafting more detailed definitions of insider-trading abuses.

The chain of events began on Nov. 14, when the SEC revealed that Boudy was at the heart of the largest insider-trading scandal ever uncovered on Wall Street. He was fined a record \$198.5 million and barred for life from trading securities in the United States. He also pleaded guilty to a criminal charge that could bring a five-year prison term.

But that was only the beginning. Boudy is rumored to have implicated top executives at a number of respected securities firms. Declared Daniel J. Good, managing director of New York's Shearson Lehman Brothers Inc.: "This ranks among the scandals of the century." Indeed, the SEC's announcement, 48 minutes after the markets closed for the weekend, brought the Dow Jones industrial average tumbling down when markets reopened at the start of last week. Stocks of companies rumored to be takeover targets plummeted.

Meanwhile, Britain's newly devastated London Stock Exchange was jolted by a similar incident. Last month Geoffrey W. Collier, the 50-year-old director of securities for Messrs. Grenville Group Plc., a widely respected London-based merchant bank, resigned after admitting that he had purchased 96,000 shares of AIG Plc., an engineering company, only 36 minutes before Halls Plc., Grenville's client, announced a takeover bid. Collier netted about \$25,000 in profit when he subsequently sold the shares. After he confessed to authorities, Collier threatened to expose others, and although no one else has been implicated to date, the British government last week announced that its stringent rules to investigate insider trading would take effect immediately rather than on Jan. 1 as originally planned.

Meanwhile, Canadian regulatory officials admitted last week that insider-trading violations occur on this country—although not on the same scale as in the United States. Ontario Securities Commission (OSC) chairman Stanley Beck said that the osc has sanctioned six major investors in the past decade but has only been able to secure a few minor convictions.

The OSC is currently investigating trading prior to the \$24-billion takeover of General Corp. last April by Imasco Ltd., the Montreal-based financ-

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on and retelling giant. Commission director Eleanore Pasco said that he ordered securities firms to freeze the funds of any South African clients who had acquired more than 1,000 Genstar shares before the takeover bid until the purchasers identified themselves. Eight months have elapsed and most of the money has not been cleared.

Regardless of what the car finds, it is unlikely to surpass the scandal on Wall Street that is now unfolding around Boskey based in Detroit by Russia's investment giant, Boskey.

Known as Don Levin, New York, 1966, two years after graduating from Detroit College of Law. By 1952 he was a member of the arbitrage department in a small brokerage house. Three years later he launched his own company with \$500,000 in capital. Boskey's company had \$2.6 billion in available capital when his underwriting activities were revealed two weeks ago.

Boskey was an extraordinary risk-taker and, as a result, he made spectacular profits. He is reputed to have earned \$50 million in 1984, and \$138 million in 1985, and \$138 million in 1986, and \$138 million in 1987.

Boskey: Legal profile

Boskey: Legal profile

For \$10 billion the same year. With success came power. Leading corporate executives and investment bankers frequently consulted him about takeovers. Meanwhile, Boskey was noted by corporate leaders who coveted the huge blocks of shares he controlled. By selling these blocks, Boskey often influenced the outcome of a takeover battle—and the fate of a company.

Boskey's downfall began in February, 1986, when he was lured into an underwriting job by Dennis Levine, then a 30-year-old Wall Street managing director of mergers and acquisitions with Donald Rumsfeld Lambert Inc. Boskey presented the case of high-risk, high-interest junk bonds to finance takeovers. In recent years the company has underwritten \$45.7 billion worth of junk bonds, half the total issued in the United States. Levine had access to confidential information about investment takeovers, while Boskey had the financial resources to take advantage of the information.

After testing Levine's information through several small purchases, Boskey was sufficiently impressed to enter a profit-sharing arrangement. According to the SEC, Boskey then embarked on a buying spree, buying his money on tips from Levine, that netted him \$40.3 million in unlawful profits. The scheme ended last May when the commission charged Levine with using inside information in about 34 takeovers during the previous five years to earn \$175 million in illegal profits. He pleaded guilty to four criminal charges and began implicating others. By mid-July, three investment bankers and a lawyer who specialized in takeovers faced charges.

Boskey was initially mentioned to be part of the scheme, but when the summer passed without charges, speculation on Wall Street faded. However, Levine had revealed everything, and Boskey, who had become aware of the SEC investigation in August, approached the government through his lawyers to settle the case and co-operate with the commission in the six weeks before the announcement of his fall. Boskey's office phone was tapped, he was wired for sound and meetings in his office were videotaped.

By last week the SEC investigation had spread to at least 30 other individuals who had dealt with Boskey. The commission also issued subpoenas to obtain information about trading in 12 securities in which Boskey was involved.

Following his settlement with the SEC, Boskey told his employees, "My life will be forever changed, but I hope that something positive will come out of this situation." His downfall created intense speculation about how he would pay the enormous \$138.5-million fine. Estimates of Boskey's personal worth go as high as \$277 million. As well, he is expected, for a large profit, \$60.4 million worth of shares acquired by one of his investment funds just days before his penalty was announced. "It's the irony of all ironies," snapped one Wall Street executive. "The biggest inside information is that Boskey is being put out of business—and he gets to trade on it first."

—FRANK JACOB with correspondence reports

Ending the Bata links

The front-page headline in Johannesburg's *Star* was quite provocative: "Now Bata goes to the boot." After 55 years in South Africa, Canadian-owned Bata Ltd., one of the world's largest shoemakers, last week announced its intention to sell its South African operations to foreign investors. Company officials would not disclose the sale price or identify the buyer. At the same time, they denied that the Pretoria government's policy of apartheid—which enforces a law which severely discriminates over 34 million violence blacks—was the reason for the pullout. Said Bata corporate secretary Basil Baker at the company's headquarters in Don Mills, Ont.: "It really was a business decision that took into account all of the factors with effect to investment in South Africa at the present time."

The surprise announcement came just one day after Rochester, N.Y.-based Eastman Kodak Co., the giant photographic company, said that it was leaving South Africa. This year 30 U.S. firms—including General Motors Corp., the Corp and The Coca-Cola Company—have either withdrawn or announced intentions to leave the strife-torn country. Earlier in the week Toronto-based nickel and copper producer Falconbridge Ltd. announced that it was increasing its stake in Western Platinum Ltd. of South Africa to 48 per cent from 35 per cent. That prompted Kenyan Affairs Minister Joe Clark to hint that Ottawa might institute a ban if Canadian companies ignore the government's voluntary guidelines on new investments in South Africa.

Under the terms of the Bata sale, the company name and trademark will no longer be used in South Africa, and all ties with Canada will be severed. As well, according to Baker, the new buyer of Bata's South African interests—amounting for about one per cent of the company's annual worldwide sales of more than \$1 billion—has given assurances that the jobs of 2,800 mostly black workers will be preserved. Since Bata's crisis last week that the Bata pullout likely was motivated more by economics than moral principles. But as big business decerts the troubled country, decisions made for the sake of the bottom line will serve other ends.

—ANDREW BRUSH in Toronto

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TOYOTA

Closed-door tax reform

It is an assumed fight being waged behind closed doors by vested interests. The sought-after prize is the ear of Finance Minister Michael Wilson, who is about to reform Canada's complex tax system. Among the chief combatants are two men representing vastly different constituencies in the business community. In one corner is John Ballach Shirotscheva rolled up, elbows on his plain wooden desk, the spokesman for 75,000 small businesses in Canada in upset about proposals for reform advocated by the big-business lobby in Canada. Said Ballach: "It is shy, self-serving and too slick by half."

On the other side of the debate, Thomas P. d'Aquino, who speaks for 156 of the largest corporations in Canada, countered that he has told Ballach only times that all successful small businesses eventually grow up to be big businesses. Said d'Aquino, who is president and chief executive officer of the Business Council on National Issues: "To have people such as John attacking big businesses in this way is the equivalent of a child attacking his father."

The verbal sparring was over a sug-

gestion by d'Aquino's organization that small business should lose its preferential tax rate as part of a reform package. But both parties readily acknowledged that their words were aimed as much at Wilson as they were at each other. Indeed, the federal finance minister's drive to overhaul the country's tax code has led to an extensive round of consultations. Since Wilson's surprise announcement last July that Canada would follow the American lead in underlining sweeping tax reform, business, labour, social and other special-interest groups have mounted lobbies to preserve their particular tax benefits. Said Donald Blenkarn, chairman of the House of Commons standing committee on finance, which is currently studying the issue: "Every special-interest group has got its own reason for why something should not happen to them."



Wilson: ambitious goals

Surrounded by conflicting demands

from nearly every segment of Canadian society, it is still unclear how Wilson will meet the ambitious goals he set out in a speech he made to the House on Oct. 23. In that speech, he promised to lower tax rates on both personal and corporate income tax. Wilson also promised to study the antiquated federal manufacturers' sales tax, which many believe will be replaced with a new business transfer tax. Further details are likely to come in the February federal budget, but officials in the finance department are still exploring options and have not yet decided which tax breaks will disappear. With little settled, special-interest groups are lobbying furiously and the opposition parties are stirring the political waters, predicting that Wilson's reform will lead to higher taxes for everyone.



Wilson's strategy so far has been to talk only in generalities publicly, while privately he is consulting widely before committing himself to any specifics. According to those who have attended the meetings, Wilson is taking



Blunders: verbal sparring, contradictory demands and vastly different views

a hard line. It is up to each lobby group to prove the worth of the tax break it wants to preserve. Already Wilson has told some groups that the case they have made simply was not good enough. Said a rural George Miller, managing director of the Mining Association of Canada, after his

encounter with Wilson: "We realize that we will have to bite the bullet."

Demands from the groups are often contradictory. While large, capital-intensive industries want to keep the capital-cost allowances, which reduce their taxable income, Ballach's Canadian Federation of Independent Busi-

ness says that it should get the Canadian Labour Congress wants a simpler tax system, but opposes a shift toward new consumption taxes. And the Consumers' Association of Canada is concerned that any new sales tax will take too long a bite out of the pocketbooks of consumers.

Meanwhile, Wilson must also deal with the growing confusion over his intentions and the concern—some of it fuelled by opposition critics—that tax reform means more taxes. At week's end, he was putting the finishing touches on a speech he was scheduled to give in Toronto this week to the Canadian Tax Foundation. The message: there will be winners and losers in the reform, but the winners will be in the majority.

Last year, during pre-budget consultations, 45 groups made submissions or met with the minister. With tax reform in the air, finance officials expect even more this year. Among them will be d'Aquino and Ballach, who are scheduled to see Wilson separately on Dec. 10 in the minister's fifth-floor office in the Centre Block of the Parliament Buildings. In the meantime, the two men will continue to persuade their version of tax reform to the rest of the country.

—MAGDALENE BRIDMAN in Ottawa

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Chronicles of Canadian greed

By Peter C. Newman

This is a vintage season for business books, but not all of them live up to their publishers' blarney. Too often their authors fall as the victims of the system without adequately documenting their case or suggesting workable alternatives. Taken together, the autumn offerings promulgate the hardly original notion that capitalists in this country—as elsewhere—inflated by greed and that its most virulent adherents are hanging on to a status quo that is threatened with being derailed out of existence.

● **Controlling interest** The best-informed financial reporter in Canada, Diane Francis has written a powerful and important polemic equating our economy to a cluster of financial franchises. "Instead of a lively, competitive marketplace, yielding jobs, innovations, or opportunities for new entrepreneurs, Canada has far too many cash cows controlled by far too few proprietors," she contends. "Like economic verbs, we are paying private-sector surcharges, levied by a diminishing number of families and business conglomerates, on just about everything."

What weakens Francis's argument, other than the derivative nature of her documentation about the 32 families involved, is the schism/breakle jolt she throws at us as she discovers that the gnomes of Bay Street, who perpetrate these damnable deeds, are nice guys. "The real problem, of course, is not so much the current abuse as the potential for future evil which such a tightly concentrated web of corporate holdings can inflict on consumers and the country's ability to compete."

● **The Insider Bulletin** Is this first book-length attempt to encompass the might of the Richmanes, Peter Foster has come away with a taut narrative of bean-busle chaos. His reconstruction of how within 30 months the exclusive brothers took over \$18 billion in corporate assets—Gulf Canada and Hiram Walker Resources—reveals all kinds of delicious tidbits, such as how Canadian taxpayers contributed at least \$700 million to sweeten the pie, what position Jean Chrétien was occupying during the crucial Gulf negotiations, and how Gulf executives happily co-operated in their own demise.

Foster's negative chronology comes to a chilling conclusion: "Like Dome, the Richmanes have been encouraged by the government to expand with the help of public money, and, like Dome in its heyday days, they have found banks and financial institutions only too glad to open their vaults. It remains to be seen if they proceed, like Dome, to the point of a financial trauma so great that it threatens to bring down the banking

deal with the resurrection of Crown Life under Michael Burns, the strange workings of Sun Life under the arrogant Tom Galt, and the galloping growth of Manulife under Sydney Jackson—probably the only life insurance company president ever to wear leather pants to one of his corporate social functions.

● **The New Entrepreneurs** Toronto author Allan Gossé relates through 89 case histories of men and women who stepped out of the treadmill mainstream to make it as their own. The Barstien prose gets a bit waxy; but it's a useful compendium that includes the blazing saga of how Newfoundland's Brigitte Manning, a former cocktail waitress, took only six years to build Colours into a 100-view cosmetic franchise operation currently mixing \$15 to \$20 million a year.

● **Stories of Memories** This charming autobiography by the former chairman of the Simpsons retail empire recreates a vanished world and reveals G. Allan Burton to have been a compassionate and gutsy merchant adventurer. A 45-year veteran of fighting the state wars, Burton was always the gentleman but never a paty.

● **Leap Of Faith** With a minimum of ideological baggage, Jean Laferrière aptly presents how a conspicuous free trade deal with the United States would destroy the Canadian dream. Unlike most critics of this drastic trade option, political scientist Laferrière offers some compelling and even plausible alternatives.

Probably the most interesting chapter spells out in compelling detail the decline of the American economy, making the case that becoming even more dependent on it would only weaken Canada's future.

● **Graham, Towers and His Ties** The 28 years Towers spent as founding governor of the Bank of Canada set down this country's monetary matrix. "There was a quality of magic about the man and I fell under its spell," confesses biographer Douglas Patterson, who has wisely concentrated as much on the times as the man. This gentle ebullience richly justifies Patterson's claim about Towers that "few people in our history have made better use of their gifts"—and provides a welcome antidote to the self-inflation and greed currently pervading the Canadian business scene.



Francis: an important polemic

system. With perhaps twice Dome's overall debt load, they certainly have the potential." Duch.

● **Marching Of Four** "Canada's insurance industry has enough skeletons in its closet to keep a team of osteologists busy for a year," claims James Fleming, who proceeds to prove the point with a vengeance. Although not as well written as Rod McKee's study of the insurance industry published last year, Fleming's book does have some excellent chapters. They

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Canada's star under the Superdome

Since 1987, when the New Orleans Saints joined the National Football League, the Mardi Gras city has had a host to the Super Bowl six times. But the Saints have never been involved in the championship finale or even a single postseason game. In fact, only twice in their brief and sorry history has the team not lost many games as it has had to overcome this season. Saints fans no longer need to be embarrassed.

Instead, after six victories in 11 starts, they are dreaming of playoff games. One of the major reasons for the euphoria in Cajon country is a rookie running back, Bushen Mayes, born in North Battleford, Sask., four years before the Saints played their first game. Said Saints rookie coach Jim Mora: "We knew Bushen was good when we drafted him. But we didn't expect him to do quite this well so quickly."

Jaded, Mayes, 23, has taken the NFL by surprise. Despite an outstanding university career at Washington State—where he was named All-American, Pacific-10 conference offensive player of the year twice and set the 12-5 collegiate single-game rushing record of 307 yards—Mayes was not selected until the third round of this year's NFL college draft. But after 11 games, Mayes led all first-round picks and all NFL rookie players with 850 yards and was

the leading candidate for the top role of the year award. In the first three games he started, Mayes ran for 380 yards, a three-game total second only to Eric Dickerson of the Los Angeles Rams, the league's rushing leader.

In New Orleans's 28-7 victory over the Tampa Bay Buccaneers on Oct. 15, Mayes ran for 172 yards—the second best single-game rushing performance in the Saints' history. Two weeks later against the San Francisco 49ers, he rushed for 228 yards, the first rushing success in 12 regular-season games to rush more than 100 yards against the formi-

dable 49ers' defense. Said the self-effacing Mayes: "Being a starter really means a difference. I'm just trying to be consistent from game to game. That's what they want. That's what I want."

It was not until the fifth game of the season that Mayes became the Saints' starting halfback. Rookie and former State Dalton Hibbard, a second-round draft pick, and the all-time leading rusher at Louisiana State Uni-



Mayes on the move. (Top) Calahan and an evening with the team's backup

versity, won the starting job during the preseason. But after the team won only one game in its first four, Mayes replaced Hibbard, and before last week's game the rejuvenated Saints had won five of seven games, tying the second-best start in the franchise's 28 seasons. Said Mayes: "Bushen has done an excellent job of making things happen. He's a fast player who gets better every week."

Mayes attributes his progress to hard work. He learned that ethic from his father, Maurice, who owns an auto repair shop in North Battleford, where his great-grandfather moved the fam-

ily from Oklahoma in 1950. "My father told me how it was coming from the Deep South and how all at a sudden it's 40 degrees below zero," said Mayes. "I was always taught to be disciplined and to work hard. When you are taught something, and you listen, it carries over into sports and life." Said Gary Gagnon, who coached the football, eleven-year, 200-lb. back at Washington State: "If he is equal to other backs, he will get ahead of them because of his work habits."

Despite his success on the field, Mayes remains largely unattached by celebrity. The articulate halfback steers clear of the city's famous Bourbon Street night life, preferring quiet evenings at his apartment near the Saints' training camp in suburban Kenner. A typical evening will find Mayes cooking a meal—his images and frayed outfit cover highly recommended—before curling up with his playbook. A Louisiana Christian who participates in the team's Christian fellowship group, Mayes keeps his goals clearly in sight. "I want to prove that I can run in the NFL," he said. "Being a rookie, my approach was learning the offense before letting my instant take over. Now, I'm looking for a touchdown every time I get the ball."

At the beginning of the season, electronic message boards in the Louisiana Superdome urged fans to "Vote for Saints rookie Dalton Hibbard for NFL Rookie of the Year." For the last Saints home game, a 6-6 victory over the NYC West Division-leading Giants, the message board read: "Vote for your favorite Saints rookie." In New Orleans, where fans chant his first name, "Roos... Roos... Roos!" like hounds baying at the Louisiana moon, there is not much doubt about the eventual winner.

—JOHN JONES in New Orleans

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Nova's engineered to put you in control of the road. Powered by a high-revving 1.6 Liter OHV engine. With a

5-speed manual overdrive transmission. Road-holding front-drive, 4-wheel independent suspension and rack-and-pinion steering connected to steel-foam radial tires.



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Nova's the product of a joint effort of Toyota and GM. As the car experts point out, the technology, craftsmanship and quality show**.

But it's only when you drive it that you'll know it's absolutely right. So see your nearest Chevy dealer. Climb into the cockpit. Soar ahead in a Nova now.

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world trouble spots than a U.S. news-
point to their early training. Said Te-
rento-bara Morley Safer as 50 Min-
utes, who was CBC's news anchor and
producer before joining CBS in 1965. "You have a couple of almost
parallel networks in Canada, and this
tends to be a kind of very, very in-
tensive training process." Peter Den-
dridge of Toronto, who worked for
both CTV and CBC, added: "I think Cana-
dians get better training. From my
first boss to my last boss in Canada,
there was always somebody who said,
'Look, we're interested in teaching
you to improve your craft.'" Jerry
King, 45, who joined CBS 15 years ago
after four years in Canadian radio, is
now a national correspondent based
in St. Louis. Mo. Added King, who is
from Wilford, Ont.: "Americans tend
to be kinder—and lazier in their lan-
guage. I had to learn to say 'hi' for
'hey'."

In most cases, the American net-
works take the initiative. They go after
the Canadian. But with Safer, the CBS
offer was a luke. Stanley Burke, the
former anchorman for the CBS's na-
tional newscast, applied for a job with
CBS in 1964, and he next the network a
tape of a round-table discussion of
world events by several CBC news peo-
ple, including Safer. The CBS executives
watched the tape—and loved Safer. Safer,
now 58, worked in many news-
rooms and made such a strong mark re-
sponding from Vietnam that Fred
Friedland, then chief of news, called
the conflict "Morley Safer's war." A
Safer newscast, aired on Aug. 5, 1965,
showed U.S. Marines setting fire with
cigarette lighters to huts in the village
of Con Ne. It was the first major tele-
vision report to portray the American
soldiers as callous and it infuriated
U.S. President Lyndon Johnson. There
were accounts that he telephoned a CBS
executive and said, "One of your boys
just shot on the American flag." As for
whether Johnson really reacted that
way, Safer said, "I'm assuming that
is true."

In general, working for the U.S. net-
works is demanding and competitive.
The staffs are large, and national
newscasts run just 22 minutes. Said
Bill Mangan, the CBC's director of tv
news and current affairs. "There is too
much eye time—and a lot of people
have shams on." Added Masterson:
Mark Phillips, now CBS's news cor-
respondent. "You really have to create
your reputation all over again." Where-
ver they are, the pace is relentless for
most correspondents. Peter Kent, 43,
who anchored the CBC national news
for two years, now does NBC's news
program 520P. But he recalls the
demands of his previous jobs with CBC

and NBC as a correspondent: "You're
into the old meat grinder. If you show
up in London, the desk provides you
with a beeper—they've got beepers for
visiting kinds. They call you and say,
'You're on the way to Karachi.' Last



Safer, Kent (above) in news competition, chaotic pace

year I was on the road 90 per cent of
the time."

In addition, Kent said that the fu-
ture of network correspondents is un-
certain because many large affiliate
stations are providing extended local
news presentations. Skatchewsky-
born Kent Morrison, 38, left his job
with The Journal earlier this year to

co-anchor the local news at CBC, Los
Angeles. Said Morrison: "There is a lot
of talk around that the networks are in
decline and that the news business, es-
pecially, is one that can be taken over
by local stations." KIRO accompa-
nies

KBC's news show with
three hours of its own
news, plus a 30-minute,
late-evening wrap-up.
Morrison is on air 60
minutes each day.

Published reports
here and that Morrison
earns anywhere from
\$400,000 to \$700,000 to
read the Los Angeles
news. He himself says
that it is less than
\$400,000. He adds that he
likes the job and his
station's ratings are
climbing, but the qual-
ity of U.S. tv news bet-
ters his. Declared Mor-
rison: "They are in this
business to make mon-
ey, and they're not con-
cerned with quality as
much as the CBC is. May-
be it's just the Canadian
way. I didn't think there
was such a thing until I
came here, and now I
know it."

Quality is a major
reason why Robert Mac-
Neil, 56, who was raised
in Halifax, remains with
the CBC. He refused to re-
neal his salary but said that he has
turned down more lucrative offers. He
also likes the freedom at CBC. Added
MacNeil: "We have an hour of network
time, shows all over the continent five
nights a week, and we can run it pretty
well as we see fit. You don't have
many opportunities like that in
television."

Most Canadians who have joined
into U.S. tv news say that they plan to
hang on to their Canadian citizenship.
Peter Jennings is an exception. He has
been under some pressure to become a
U.S. citizen and now, he says, "As long
as I have made my home and my career
in this country I think the possibility of
becoming an American are pretty
strong." Robert MacNeil is more typical.
He hangs on firmly and proudly to the
fact that he is a Canadian. "Americans
introduce me and say, 'He was original-
ly from Canada.' And I say, 'I'm still
from Canada.' " Still, the fact remains
that whether or not they have strong
patriotic sentiments, the Canadians on
U.S. networks have been edged away
by the brighter lights and bigger re-
wards south of the border.

—DICK BROWN in Toronto

Show Your Stripes!



Tia Maria
TONIGHT



To help you as both the driver of the family car and as one who yearns for the excitement of a true sports sedan, the ingenious engineers at Saab present the total fulfillment of the new Saab 900GS.

They say need and want are two incommensurable principles. Those who believe both adjoined notions, may now want to revise that logic.

To begin with, here is a car that spontaneously a family car its interior spaciousness is so utterly convincing, the EPA in the U.S. awarded the 900GS a "large car" rating. Only two reports were so harsh, the other was the Rolls Royce Silver Spur Limousine.

But the comfort of the 900GS is not of the most illustrious variety. The kind that makes a passive driver of you. On the contrary it is a car designed to make you a more alert, active driver. Whereas the driver-controlled arrangement of all instrumentation. The firm, heated seats (available in optional leather) with their adjustable headrests and restibles. The computer-based automatic climate control. Behind the wheel of the 900GS you're a better

driver, simply because you're a more alert driver.

Safety-wise, the Saab engineers have been very wise indeed. "Crumple zones" built into the chassis and a plastic safety cage that surrounds the passengers, ensure that you and your precious cargo get to where you're going in the utmost safety.

With your family more than adequately catered for, under the hood beats the heart that calms to you. Here you'll find a 16-valve, fuel-injected 2 liter engine

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PEOPLE

Former television journalist **Carole Taylor**, who has interviewed every prime minister since **John Stiefenhofer**, moved into the political arena in her own right with an alumnus win in Vancouver's recent municipal election. The 41-year-old Taylor, who hosted *City Public Affairs* program *Canada AM* and *W5*, is married to former Vancouver mayor **Art Phillips**, who helped run her campaign from their kitchen table. Taylor says that her journalistic experience will be "incredibly valuable" in her new job. Her approach to news, she said, "is to talk to as many experts as I can and to people involved on both sides." Added Taylor: "I think that's a good technique to apply to city politicians."



Taylor, running a victorious political campaign from the kitchen table

The fascination with screen sex goddess **Marilyn Monroe** remains as strong as ever despite the 24 years and

whose book is one of the few about Monroe written by a woman, describes the doomed film star as a "wild-woman" and a "maven." Explained Stienitz: "She was an abandoned child who felt invisible, worthless, and who only existed in front of a camera."



Steinem: Fascination with a sex goddess

over 48 biographies since her drug-induced death. Recently, three more books have been published on the tragic beauty, including *Marilyn* by **Gloria Steinem**, the editor of *Ms. magazine*. Steinem's book features never-before-published photographs of Monroe taken during her last summer. Feminist Steinem, 58,

The Calgary Petroleum Club remains one of Canada's few all-male bastions, at least at luncheon. Last week its members voted to retain the exclusive club's policy of banning women from the midday meal. Even former *Variety* energy editor **Pat Conroy** could not join members for lunch after casual meetings with petroleum industry leaders. When pressure from several major oil company leaders, including *Petro-Canada* chairman **Bill Hepper**, failed to sway members to end the discriminatory practice, Hepper resigned and cancelled *Petro-Canada's* 30 anniversary Club luncheon. **Jim Stanek** expressed regret at Hepper's decision, but added, "It makes the mailing list shorter."



Gullums: Scrooge

A perfect writer **Berry Lopez** won the coveted American Book Award last week for a nonfiction book, *Arctic Dreams*, that is largely about his travels in the Canadian North. A *New York Times* reviewer described it as a book "about the Arctic North in the way that *Moby-Dick* is a novel about whales." Lopez says that *Arctic Dreams* has a responsibility

to "illuminate human experience." He added that he came to understand that obligation through his friendship with Canadian writer **Groene Sisson** and **Margaret Atwood**. *Arctic Dreams*, and Lopez, "is not so much the story of a journey to the Arctic as it is an inner journey."

When the television comedy *Scrooge* was cancelled last spring, Emmy Award-winning actor **Robert Gullums**, who played the title role, moved on to television production. But he is back on the small screen on Dec. 8 in

John Gresh's Christmas, an hour-long all-black adaptation of the **Charles Dickens** classic, *A Christmas Carol*. Gullums, 56, stars in the Scrooge role. He also produced and directed the show, filmed in Toronto, and he re-wrote the script. Gullums says that he made the show to encourage successful black Americans to contribute financially to their communities. "What often happens is that black people who 'make it' no longer involve themselves in the black community. That's a lesser dream and an economic dream."

Over the past 23 years Canadian film-maker **Norman Jewlaue** has carved out a distinguished Hollywood career, producing and directing movies that have earned 26 Academy Award nominations and resulted in nine Oscars. Now, he says that he wants to foster excellence among other Canadian film-makers. To that end, Jewlaue, 66, recently took time off from the set of his latest film, *Mostruck*, a romantic comedy starring **Cher**, to announce the creation of the Canadian Centre for Advanced Film Studies in Toronto. He says that the centre will stress the highest of standards. Declared Jewlaue: "If you're not good enough, you've got to get out."

—Edited by YV5532E CLK



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NETWORKING



Figney: Sharp giving an old balletic war-horse a kick of charm and magic

FILMS

Visions of sugarplums

NUTCRACKER

Directed by Carroll Ballard

Director Carroll Ballard's two previous feature films, *The Black Stallion* and *Never Cry Wolf*, are notable for their sweet dialogue. As a result, it is hardly a surprise that in his superb new work, the perennial Christmas ballet extravaganza, *Nutcracker*, nobody speaks at all. Using sets and costumes by the renowned illustrator Moirris Sendak, to give it a look of old-fashioned charm—and even magic—Ballard directs Seattle's Pacific Northwest Ballet production of the old ballet war-horse. Highly attuned to dance, he knows exactly where to place the camera, when to show faces instead of legs and how to enrich Tchaikovsky's music with camera movement. Not a single shot in the entire movie seems misplaced.

In most productions of the ballet—a dream narrated in dance—the dreamer is an innocent child. Ballard's version is closer to the mood of the original tale, by 19th-century German writer E.T.A. Hoffmann. The film's Clara (Vivanna Shum) is nearly 18 and already experiencing sexual stirrings. And her normally kind and ducky old watchmaker-uncle, Drosselmeyer (Hugh Hefner), has become a malevolent figure. Is Clara's dream, in which her watchmaker turns into a dancing, dancing cavalier (Wade Whitehall),

Drosselmeyer appears as a mostly invisible figure whose business at once attracts and repels Clara.

The movie opens innocently, in Drosselmeyer's shop with the disturbing promise of ticking clocks. After Clara's family celebrates a holiday party, the dreamer awakes, and the tale—taken on a much darker tone. The *Nutcracker* comes to life and, together with toy soldiers, he fights the King of the Mice and his army. Sendak has created a kind of truly monstrous proportions, a mouse who keeps growing new heads. And when Clara enters her dream, it is through an icy landscape of distorted mirrors. She emerges as a woman (the long-legged Patricia Barker) ready for her dance of first love. The latter part of the ballet is always problematic because it is little more than a series of dance diversions: the Chinese and Arabian dances, *The Wights of the Flowers*, and *Snowflakes*. But, *Nutcracker* is so visually inventive that the audience is never bored.

Ballard has cracked the candy coating off this ballet. In its place, there is a shell of sensuousness on the verge of breaking. And the mainstreamers ensure that cinema is just as often a caterpillar as it is a butterfly. Boys and girls will remember *Nutcracker* when they are snag in their beds—with the covers pulled over their heads.

—LAWRENCE GORDON

Land of hope and cheese

AN AMERICAN TAIL

Directed by Don Bluth

Designed to appeal primarily to children, *An American Tail* is a film that grown-ups will also enjoy. Brightly drawn, with a first-rate story to tell, *Tail* marks a return to the land of old-fashioned musical animation feature that the Disney studios once monopolized. It focuses on a family of mice called Mousekewitz, who are driven by Cossack cats from their home in prerevolutionary Russia (the voice of Mchael Penfold), who has always claimed, "There are no cats in America" and "The streets are paved with cheese," decides to sail with his loved ones to the land of opportunity. But along the way, little Fievel (Philip Glasser) falls overboard and is separated from his family—a frightening prospect for any child.

Directed by Don Bluth, a Disney alumna, the film is sensitive to the attention span of young children. No sooner has Fievel washed ashore on Liberty Island—where a giant new statue is being erected—than a French pigeon, Henri (Christopher Plummer), takes him under his wing. Fievel departs what he will never see his family again, but Henri sings the upbeat "Never Say Never" and implants him in the heart of New York's Lower East Side. Then, Fievel meets Whizzer T. Rat, a fellow in disguise, who sells Fievel to a watchshop. George and a series of other adventures ensue, leading to a climax where the mice, a melting pot of nationalities, rid the city of gangster cats. And Fievel, the hero of the day, is finally reunited with his family.

To the film's credit, each mouse has a highly recognizable character. The most enjoyable are sociable Genie Mousekewitz (Machelle Kahn), a blood-sucking (she) who laps every second word, and Tiger (Don DeLuise), a hard-boiled cat with a heart of pure stuff. There is also a cat-dog, Dogi (Will Ryan), who is obsessed with cleanliness. Rat puns—and powerful emotions—are the order of the day. Bluth has taken the American immigrant experience, set in during the building of the Statue of Liberty and released it in five year of the state's centennial. *An American Tail* is obviously meant to be a fun movie. But kids will only see—and love—the bright colors.

—L. OT

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Gender power in politics

The election of Agnes Macphail as a member of Parliament from rural Ontario in 1921—the year that women won the right to vote—presented a new era of equality for women in Canadian politics. But 65 years later that time has yet to arrive, says a leading feminist. In a new special just 52 women to the House of Commons. Early in November more than 300 women gathered in Toronto to consider strategies to redress that imbalance. The two-day session was co-sponsored by the Committee for '94, a group working to see women elected to half the seats in the House of Commons by 1994. It featured prominent feminists, among them Barbara McDougall, the federal minister responsible for women's issues, who called for help from women of all parties. Said McDougall: "We are on the verge of giving this social revolution a whole new phase simply by increasing the number of women in politics."

Conference participants noted recent political successes, including increasing attention to day care, pornography and other means of special interest to women, as well as the growing influence of a national women's lobby. In 1989 that lobby ensured that equal rights for women were enshrined in the Canadian Constitution. And Christine Hunk, former president of the powerful National Action Committee on the Status of Women, said that persuading three federal leaders to debate women's issues on national television during the 1984 election was a historic breakthrough. In the Conservative sweep that followed, women captured a record 37 of 382 seats—just under 10 per cent. But other speakers noted that such successes do not indicate enormous political change. Said writer Christina McCall, president of the Committee for '94: "What we have seen is influence, not power. Women are still efforts of the state rather than full partners in the political process."

McCall said that women who seek political office should remember that although men are increasingly supporting them, women are still a real threat to their progress toward power. But she added that an even greater impediment for women nominees, if they do not have access to corporate funds, is the difficulty of raising money. Said McCall: "One male Liberal MP actually told me it was embarrassing to be a hagman for a dame." Added McDou-

gall: "Once the men say, 'My God, this broad might actually do it,' they start writing cheques."

For her part, Elmer Caplan, a Liberal member of the Ontario legislature, said that as a result of those attitudes, many women settle for staffing envelopes and answering phones rather than running for office or managing a campaign. Said Caplan: "If women accept that role, then they will wait a long time. The most important advice I can offer is don't wait to be wooed."

Still, the major political parties are

sager to dispel any notion that women is a man's world. Instead, they are actively seeking female candidates. But some delegates said that the parties' efforts may amount to no more than token gestures. Said Toronto A.M. Barbara Hall: "Frequently women get approached to run when there is no chance of winning and are too often being used." Hall was a New Democratic Party candidate for the Ontario legislature in 1985. She ran in a Toronto riding against two prominent lawyers—the Liberals' Ian Scott, now provincial attorney general, and the Conservatives' Julia Porter—and few observers gave her much chance of capturing the seat. Indeed, she finished with 4376 votes compared to Scott's 13,120.

Another problem that many speak-

ers noted concerned so-called Queens-Bees—female politicians who do not pursue feminist goals. Isaac Campagnolo, president of the federal Liberal party and the first woman to hold that office, called such politicians "pseudo-feminists" and said that if they are the only kinds of women ever elected, "we have lost the way." Noted Alex McDougall, who has led the Nova Scotia race through the past two provincial elections: "Because running female candidates has become the in thing, we may end up with more women elected but less of a commitment to issues of concern, and the result is more window dressing."

For her part, Campagnolo said that she has learned from two decades of experience in public office that there are hearts to what women can do to



Campagnolo: plea for female solidarity

another feminist goal, even when they have assumed positions of power. She added that women must be prepared as a group to shun partisan positions and unite to promote the women's movement. The former cabinet minister, who has announced her intention to retire from politics when her term as party president expires at the end of November, declared that among the young people she has addressed, only the boys seemed interested in politics. And she predicted that it will likely take another 35 years, or about 10 federal elections, before the Committee for '94 achieves its goal. "While it may take the same time as it will take to have a female pope," she added, "we must not despair."

—HEIDI ABONHEAR in Toronto

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Investing in failure

BEAKING THE BANKS
By Arthur Johnson
(Lester & Orpen Dennys,
256 pages, \$21.95)

Rending *Beaking the Banks*, by award-winning Toronto Globe and Mail business writer Arthur Johnson, is like watching *Grease* with the Wind. It is a great tale, but a stale one. It also promises more than it delivers. What is missing is a sweeping look at two spectacular failures in the Canadian banking system—the September, 1985, collapse of the Edmonton-based Canadian Commercial Bank and Calgary's Northland Bank—is instead a well-told study of one bank, the CCB, and one man, G. Howard Eaton, its first president. Throughout, Johnson remains detached and reportorial when his subject cries out for perspective and analysis.

The book sets the scene for the financial shocks of 1985 with an evocative description of Canada's last major bank collapse, the 1923 demise of the Ontario-based House Bank. They then

and prairie farmers lost their savings, reinforcing the West's smouldering resentment of Eastern banks. Johnson also provides a chapter on Alberta's parasitical Social Credit premier, William Aberhart, which helps explain the insular enclaves of Albertans and their readiness by the late 1970s to

Alberta's hotly competitive market forced the bank's executives to make increasingly risky loans to survive

support a Western bank. And Johnson ably documents the CCB's beginnings in 1977 as a group of Western investors established an Edmonton-based bank to lend money to medium-sized businesses. Time and place were fortuitous: the bank was born at the start of Alberta's oil boom.

But the province's giddy prosperity

eventually triggered the CCB's downfall. Alberta's heavily conservative lending market forced the bank's executives to make increasingly risky loans in order to survive. Chief among them was a web of financial deals that its president, Eaton, underwrote with Leonard Rosenthal, the centric figure in Ontario's 1982 great scandal. Unfortunately, Johnson focuses too tightly on that particular relationship and overlooks the losses with which bank officers did business with many other clients.

When the boom went bust, the bubble burst for Eaton and his adrenalin-fueled colleagues. The bank could no longer support the weight of its bad loans. On Labor Day, 1985, Finance Minister Michael Wilson closed the doors of the CCB and the equally troubled Northland. Shortly after, Ottawa agreed to a billion-dollar bailout of the two banks' depositors. Having covered familiar territory, Johnson reaches pat conclusions. Among them: that Ottawa's banking inspection system, which should have reined in the CCB's risky ventures earlier, relies too much on moral suasion—what one commentator calls “the red-and-white” approach. Mildly, he suggests that it be overhauled—a surprisingly soft line from a reporter as tough as Johnson.

—PATRICIA BEST

The ties that unbind

ENCHANTMENT
By Daghee Merkin
(Harcourt Brace Jovanovich,
286 pages, \$26.95)

The mermaid family as the destroyer of souls is a well-worn literary theme. Daghee Merkin, whose fiction, film and literary criticism have appeared in *The New Yorker*, *The New York Times Book Review* and *Commentary*, returns to it in her first novel, *Enchantment*. She leads her readers through the labyrinth of memories that her heroine, Hannah Lehenstein, believes have made her what she is. And such is Merkin's grace and wit that what could have been a tired journey through familiar territory becomes a pristine and compelling tale.

Under treatment for depression since the age of 10, Hannah is the daughter of rich German-Jewish orthodox parents from New York's Upper East Side. Her father was preoccupied with high finance. Her mother was mad and remote. The six children grew up under the care of servants. And yet, at 36, spontaneously engaged, Hannah is still unable to serve her psychic unbridled slave. Her mother recalls: “You just go right on becoming the past. By the time you're ready to have children, you'll be a grandmother.” Her psychiatrist, Dr. Klein, advises, “Your mother has no real power over you other than what you give her.” But Hannah insists, “Desires that aren't met don't go away, they just become twisted. My love for my mother is an addiction.”

With a series of beautifully recounted vignettes, Merkin turns her heroine's post-little-girl obsessions into pathetic humor. After years of being forced by her mother to wear sensible cotton undergarments, Hannah finally leaves a lingerie store to buy luxury panties. The bill is doubled; she cannot stop herself from asking maternal approval for a pair of bikini trunks from the nearest female—her friend Rosalind. “How can I buy ‘panties,’” she asks herself hopefully, “when I am still thinking undergarments?” And after a heterosexual hand-dancer offhandedly tells her “darling,” she is so grateful for crumbs of affection that she thinks, “I want him to go on calling me ‘darling’ forever.” In the end Hannah's problems remain unresolved. But the spell of Merkin's charm is strong. It is an auspicious debut.

—RUTH MANKIN

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Strains from the past

THE PIANOPLAYERS

By Anthony Burgess
(Fitzkerry and Whitehead,
206 pages, \$26.95)

It's his 29th novel, *The Piano Players*, Anthony Burgess presents the fictional memoirs of an exuberant old British prostitute, Ellen Henshaw, who is enjoying a well-earned retirement in the south of France. But it is also a thinly veiled excuse for the author to indulge, through Ellen's memoirs, in reminiscences of his impoverished boyhood in 1920s England. While paragraphs of the book are given over to lists of popular songs of the time, including "Never Be Cruel to a Vegetarian" and "Beer Beer (Glorious Beer)." There is even a nostalgic evocation of the foods that poor people ate—mostly chips, white bread and tomato. These details impart richness to a novel that needs all the help it can get. *The Piano Players* starts off wonderfully but eventually loses its sense of direction. It takes all of Burgess's considerable storytelling skills to hold his readers to the confining end.



Burgess chips, up sauce, prescribes

The novel opens with Ellen's long

recollection of her widowed father, Billy—the most absorbing part of *The Piano Players* and one of the most engaging portraits Burgess has ever drawn. A pianist in a Manchester waterfront house, Billy is, in his way, a devoted artist who gives more than is demanded of him. He has collected an array of sound effects, including a lawsuit in filed with dried peas that he shakes to simulate the sound of rain. But he is also capable of real mischief if he feels underappreciated. On one occasion, when a butcher's ad appears on the screen, he breaks irreverently into the "Agony Dey" (Cry of God) from the Russian Catholic mass.

Billy's struggle to survive is pathetic because it is so obviously doomed. He quarrels with his employers, drinks too much ale and fails to live with a heartless woman. But he is devoted to his young daughter, giving her lessons at the piano, which Burgess's wit turns into pure fun. Burgess also uses Ellen's loyalty to her father to build a sense of heartrending comedy. When Billy, having wolfed down seven crispie bananas, is too sick to work, Ellen takes his place in the cinema. But Billy has taught her chords instead of melodies, and she is forced to improvise. She survives the ordeal, only to realize that she does not know how to play "God Save the King" at the end of the show. Ellen solves her dilemma by pretending to faint.

About two-thirds of the way through the novel, Billy dies of cardiac arrest during a marathon piano-playing contest. With his death, the novel loses a warmth and momentum that Burgess never recovers. The orphaned Ellen, although only 14, goes to work for a European prostitution ring catering to rich clients. Burgess's attempt to rehabilitate her new profession rings false, as do his tortured efforts to link it thematically to the rest of the novel. Women are like instruments, Ellen explains at one point, and must be played during the sex act with all the skill that a piano requires.

The author seems to recognize that he has strayed into an inappropriate territory, because he now shifts from Ellen's career to the story of a war trip her son, Robert, taken to Italy in 1964 with his wife and mother-in-law. Although extremely amusing, the account has little to do with the rest of the book. In fact, *The Piano Players* reads as though it were made up of salvaged pieces from a larger, failed novel. It is a measure of Burgess's skill that even his windings are more entertaining than many other authors' successes.

—JOHN KENNEDY

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BOOKS

The scales of justice

THE CASE OF
VALENTINE SHORTIS:
A TRUE STORY OF CRIME AND
POLITICS IN CANADA
By Martin L. Friedland
(University of Toronto Press,
201 pages, \$15.95)

On March 1, 1886, Valentine Shortis, 39, fatally shot two history employees in Valley-Field, Que. The trial focused on whether Shortis, a hardcase Irish-born clerk, had committed murder in the course of a robbery or whether, as the defence argued, he was innocent. A decade before, one of Shortis's lawyers, J.N. Greenwald, had successfully attempted the insanity plea, using some of the same psychiatrists, as defending rebel Metis leader Louis Riel. The Shortis trial replayed these legal issues with a white anglophone defendant. And it did so amid national passions kindled by the attempts of Manitoba francophones to win public funding for Catholic schools. These controversies—and the brief press coverage of the murder trial—revived serious questions about the trial's fairness in *The Case of Valentine Shortis*, University of Toronto law professor Martin L. Friedland meticulously reconstructs events, using transcripts and letters written by the end's most powerful figures.

On Nov. 2, 1886, as Shortis stood calmly in the prisoner's dock eating his breakfast, the jury pronounced him guilty. He was sentenced to death, but Lady Aberdeen, the Governor General's wife, interceded—possibly, Friedland speculates, because Shortis claimed to be descended from English royalty. When the sentence was commuted to life imprisonment, the leader of the opposition, Wilfrid Laurier, turned that reversal into an election issue, comparing the leniency shown Shortis to Riel's hanging. Laurier won—and Shortis remained in prison for another 41 years.

Friedland's study maintains judicious objectivity as the trial's fairness. Still, his account is fascinating. By focusing on an historical footnote, he has shed new light on an important chapter of legal and political history.

—CATHERINE KENTBRIDGE

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Glamorous moves for a lady of guitar

PERSONA
Lucia Boyd
(CBS)

"New Age" music is a hybrid of jazz, folk and classical music styles, and uses meditation methods and industrial psychology. Its repetitive, ambient and pleasing sounds are intended to relax rather than inspire. New, CBS Records Inc.

Spanish guitar and Eastern European ethnic folk. Boyd's "Phoenix Belongs" is an ambient, romantic suite, and she turns a stirring melody from Stravinsky's *Symphony No. 2* into more whimsical on "Sea of Tranquility." Still, these cuts, and the folk ballad "Don Chino," are better suited to Boyd's highly cultivated guitar style, which would be most at home in an English country garden. But

her new manager. But the guitarist prefers to maintain that her latest venture will give her needed room for artistic development. Said Boyd: "Sure, it's a gamble. But I felt I had to do something more contemporary, something to make me stand out from all the other guitarists in the world."

Boyd, 36, has rarely had enough doing it. In the late 1970s she broke the mold by touring as a supporting act for folkies Gordon Lightfoot. Kudos in those days as a date of then-prime artist Pierre Trudeau, she returned to group columns last month, when she and Toronto ensemble Jodi Bell, a former federal sciences adviser, announced their engagement.

Throughout her career, Boyd has resisted the conventional programming of classical artists. Indeed, she craves her own teacher, classical guitar master Alexandre Lagoya, for playing "the same thing year after year." The music featured on her current tour is a mix of her own compositions and arrangements of classical tunes. Said Boyd: "It's more of a 'show' than a classical recital—although we haven't got into lasers yet."

Some critics are describing her current creative downbeat as New Age music. Valerie Lapp, CBS national publicity manager, describes New Age as mood music for the 1980s, "something that is more experienced than listened to." But the guitarist herself is unconcerned about labels. Said Boyd: "I had never heard of New Age before I made *Phoenix*. Anyway, I think my music is a little more demanding than that."

With the support of her new manager, Allen—known in the industry for his aggressive promotion of singer Bryan Adams and the rock group Loverboy—Boyd can confidently afford to ignore whatever critical sniping her latest move attracts. Allen is currently lining up a U.S. *Phoenix* tour. Nevertheless, ticket sales for the western leg of Boyd's Canadian tour have been brisk. On the jacket of *On a Rainy Day*, the producers have printed an Arab proverb: "Dogs bark . . . but the caravan moves on." Boyd's continuing box-office appeal seems to confirm its truth.

—ROBERT D'ERRETT-STEEN in Toronto



Boyd pairing conservative technique with rock style and contemporary marketing styles

attempting to market Lucia Boyd, the glamorous Canadian who made her name playing classical guitar, under the New Age music banner. But Boyd's latest album, *Phoenix*, her most aggressive move toward pop success to date, may irritate with its sentimental, if eclectic, sounds.

The decision to pair Boyd's conservative-trained guitar technique with the bluesy rock riffs of Eric Clapton and David Gilmour seems at first an intriguing idea. But *Phoenix*'s title track, as well as "Labyrinth" and "L'Etoile"—all three orchestrated in grand, high-tech style—only underscores the mismatch of Boyd's tiny, elegant presence with the rockers' stony, pyrotechnical megawattage. The engineering softens the players' work, so that Clapton sounds as if he had contributed his solo from a phone booth.

On "Mother and Son," celist Yo-Yo Ma plays Boyd's solo in intimate setting of

two often, even that modest sense of poetry is lacking. *Phoenix* is little more than relaxed elevator music.

—BART STREIB

She has played for European royalty and has been savaged by critics for pandering to the common taste. She has four jazz awards and two gold albums to her credit, but still finds about finding a popular audience for her brand of classical guitar music. Last week, with her new *Phoenix* album on record racks across Canada, Lucia Boyd took to the road for a 36-city national tour with her own band—and an electric guitar. Her latest sounds have already drawn critical fire from purists who argue that the classically trained Boyd had sold her career to the highest bidder—in this case, West Coast rock promoter Bruce Allen.

FASHION

Legs that draw glances

They may be delicate as the last word in woolly comfort—from the want to the loon. They can also be bright-breakers and shrewdly indigenous. But bright, patterned and textured pasties have caught the imaginations of Canadian women of all ages. This fall, at prices that can easily reach \$50, women are wrapping their legs in plaids, stripes, ladybugs, dots and headstitch check in a waning variety of colors. And according to Lydia Schneiderman, a sales

and running delicate fabrics, sheer history still dominates the market. And according to Milgram, it is a refreshing ground last to patterned pasties. As well, Milgram predicted that there is a new trend as the way a conservative look with lighter textures, reinforced with subtle sheens from such yarns as Lurex.

Milgram's prediction of a return to more traditional styles comes as a relief to those who dislike the flash and glitz of current fashions. David



Provocative patterns: eye-catching, expensive history, but still subject to rules

clerk at Legs Beautiful, a Toronto hosiery store, retailers cannot stock enough of the patterned stockings. Indeed, the women's hosiery industry in Canada generates sales of more than \$300 million on 180 million pairs each year—with patterned and textured hosiery currently accounting for at least 25 per cent of those sales.

Women still have their own reasons for choosing patterned leg wear. Deborah Mary Burns, a 36-year-old Vancouver arts administrator "Legs are considered very sexy, and anything you can do to brighten, their appeal is great." And men are interested observers of this female fashion. Said Charles Milgram, national sales and marketing manager for Toronto-based hosiery manufacturer Phoenix Industries Inc.: "There are a whole lot of men out there looking at women's legs—and the more women do to them, the more attention they get." Still, despite the over-enthusiastic risk of ripping

Newman, a fashion editor at *Maclean's* Hunter's Toronto-based *Flare* magazine, says that he rarely sees patterned hose in his fashion spreads because he finds them unattractive. Said Newman: "There is something really unappealing about an animal pattern or color on a woman's legs. Why they stick those hosiery hose on is completely beyond me." But according to 46-year-old Vancouver actress Penelope Strickland, who collects patterned pasties, "There's nothing more boring than plain nylon. They make your legs look like dead animals below your skirt." And Alexandra Grant, a 26-year-old nanny and Vancouver nursing student, recently paid \$60 for patterned pasties because, she said, "they were fabulous." Said Grant: "Expensive hosiery looks better, feels better—and I feel better in it."

—ANNEXMENT WITH PETER ELIOT WEISS in Vancouver



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lacked the formalism needed to govern, papal officials reduced his authority and appointed an auxiliary bishop to educate priests and perform other functions, including responding to the spiritual needs of homosexuals.

Under current doctrine, the Catholic church has condemned homosexual acts as sinful while still accepting members with homosexual tendencies—if they remain celibate. At the same time, papal authorities have ordered priests not to associate with groups opposing the church ban on homosexual activity—and they have criticized Huthausen for violating that order. On one occasion in 1983, Huthausen performed a mass at the cathedral for members of Dignity, a nationwide homosexual organization. The bishop also appeared in a videotape welcoming delegates from the 5,000-member organization who were in Seattle for their annual convention.

For his part, Huthausen made an emotional appeal for support at the conference. He described himself as a church loyalist and asked his colleagues to intervene on his behalf with the Vatican. But after meeting in closed sessions for five hours, the bishops said that they accepted the papal decision to discipline Huthausen. A month later released a statement that expressed sympathy for Huthausen and embraced him as "a brother in the episcopacy," but he reaffirmed the U.S. church's allegiance to Pope John Paul II's Declaration. "The bishops of the United States wish to affirm unequivocally their loyalty to and unity with the Holy Father."

Despite that official unanimity, several delegates demonstrated their support for Huthausen by wearing red cloth patches in the shape of the letter "H" on their hats or hats that had been chosen to denote Huthausen's martyrdom. Declared Rev. Richard McBee, director of the Center for Peace Studies at Washington's Georgetown University "if they can do it to me, they can do it to any one of the bishops."

Catholic theologians say that similar tensions exist in this country—even though the Vatican has not disciplined a Canadian bishop in as public a manner. And Andre Gaudin, an ethics professor at Ottawa's St. Paul's University, predicted that friction between the Vatican and North American churches would continue until there were changes in the governing structure of the church. But that prospect is unlikely under a pope who appears determined to restore a more orthodox style of Catholicism.

—MALCOLM GLAY with PAUL HERTOG in Toronto



Beer (center) group toasts the rising glass of a cognac ad

TELEVISION

Bittersweet vengeance

STORY OF GIDEON

Directed by Michael Anderson

In September, 1978, tragedy struck the Olympic Games in Munich, West Germany, when Arab terrorists killed 11 Israeli athletes. For several years afterward rumors circulated that Mossad, Israel's intelligence agency, was taking revenge by assassinating the attack's principal organizers. Although the Israeli government denied those rumors, they were revived in 1984, when Canadian author George Jonas published the exposé *The True Story of an Israeli Counter-Terrorist Team*, a book based, he claimed, on interviews with the leader of the Mossad assassination squad. Now Canada's Alliance Entertainment Inc. and Twentieth Century Fox, in co-operation with the CBC network, have turned Jonas's account into a six-part mini-series, *Sword of Gideon*. Set against the backdrop of Europe's most glamorous cities—and with an international cast including Brad Steiger and Michael York—the film gives terrorist handling the romantic gloss of an ad for men's cologne. But it also reveals the moral ambiguity of life inside the Mossad.

Like Jonas's book, *The Sword of Gideon* tracks the leader of the Israeli agents, a young man called Amer (Steven Bauer), as he journey from innocence to bloody knowledge. His top-secret mission begins with a flash of patriotism, fueled by a meeting with

Israel's then-prime minister, Golda Meir (Colleen Dewhurst). A grandmotherly figure, Meir talks movingly of Israel while peeling an apple for Amer. For a time, his work goes well. He has four handpicked assassins eliminate the first targets on their list with relative ease. But he gradually uncovers the slaughter, especially after witnessing the grieving family of one of his victims. Worse, his own men begin to fall to the inevitable terrorist backlash. When Amer tries to extort himself from Mossad's grip, his boss (Brad Steiger) rebukes and accuses him for every last drop of service.

Amer's battle with his conscience and his superiors gives him a medium of real-life complexity that sophisticated viewers expect of their heroes. But the film overindulges, portraying the terrorists as pure evil, rather than as Amer's three-dimensional counterparts. And while *Sword of Gideon* adequately deals with the Mossad's need for revenge, it fails to articulate any motive for Palestinian violence. Still, the film is packed with excitement. In one unforgettable scene, Amer's explosives expert, Robert (Michael York), has only seconds to defuse a bomb the terrorists have set in a Mossad Paris apartment. His explanation of the Middle East's convoluted politics is transcendently shallow. But as a sci-fi entertainment, *Sword of Gideon* rates a nine out of 10.

—JOHN BERNARDINO

Promises, promises

According to conventional wisdom, the best defense is often a good offense. The CTV Network Ltd. adopted that strategy last week at its license renewal hearings in Hull, Que. Before the Canadian Radio-television and Telecommunications Commission (CRTC) could lay a regulatory glove on it, the nation's largest private broadcaster promised to restructure itself so that revenues that used to go to its affiliates will now go to the network for Canadian productions. That pledge pre-empted the CRTC's revived automation. Since 1983, when former satellite television executive André Bureau became CRTC chairman, he has been charged with putting private broadcasters' financial concerns ahead of Canadian content. But in the recent round of license renewal hearings, including sessions with the CMC and the Toronto-based Global Television Communications Ltd., Bureau told these associations exactly the opposite.

CTV and the CMC must wait several weeks to learn the full terms of their renewals, but Global's are already public. While praising its performance so far, Bureau ordered Global to double the 8.5 million in annual spending already on new Canadian entertainment and children's programming. As for CTV, the CRTC has long complained that the network does not air enough Canadian entertainment. Last week, when the network balked at providing more than the 100 million of Canadian dramatic programming per week (it currently offers, Bureau responded, "Frankly, I think we can expect more from you." Minutes later he got it: CTV agreed to raise its quota to a total of 120 hours a week by 1988-1989. Said CTV vice-president, environment programming Arthur Weisheit: "The licensing process does have a way of focusing your attention."

Meanwhile, the CMC has its own preoccupation: more than 5,000 employees are poised to strike over wage demands and job security. For its part, CTV is concentrating on developing *Next Royal*, an ambitious new \$74-million drama series about a Montreal financier, which the network announced at its renewal hearings. For Canadian broadcasting, the challenge of satisfying both employees and critics is a continuing saga.

—PAMELA TOLSON in Ottawa

The media on the scales of justice

RECKLESS DISREGARD
WESTWOODLAND V CBS ET AL.,
SHARON V TIME
By Arnold Adler
(London News, 212 pages, \$22.75)

Rena Adler's *Reckless Disregard*, a history of two lawsuits, marks what may be the most extraordinary magnum opus of the media, the military and the courts in memory. By sheer coincidence, both cases were heard at the same time on different floors of the same Manhattan courthouse in the winter of 1981. In showcasing the two trials, Adler, a distinguished critic, novelist and Yale Law School graduate, has raised pointed questions about the hostility that underlies so much contemporary litigation. And her acutely intelligent book offers an accessible indictment of the press and its attitude toward the truth.

In January, 1982, the CBS network broadcast a 90-minute documentary alleging that in 1967 Gen. William Westwoodland, then commander of U.S. forces in South Vietnam, executed a military operation to destroy the American government and people by deliberately underestimating the enemy strength the year before the North Vietnamese Tet offensive. In effect, the show alleged, the conspiracy led to the loss of the war in Vietnam. Westwoodland sued CBS for libel.

In its Feb. 22, 1983, issue, *Time* magazine ran off of another major military figure—Israeli Gen. Ariel Sharon. The cover story on the findings of the Israeli government's Kahan commission of inquiry into the massacre by Lebanese Christian Phalangists of several hundred civilians in the Palestinian refugee camps of Sabra and Shatila. *Time* claimed that a secret affidavit in the Kahan commission suggested that Sharon had been with Lebanese's politically powerful Gemayel family the day after the assassination of president-elect Bashir Gemayel. The magazine, according to *Time*, said "Sharon also reportedly discussed with

the Gemayels the need for the Phalangists to take revenge for the assassination of Bashir." Sharon sued *Time* for libel.

Adler's painstaking reconstruction, the trial records speak with brutal clarity. They reveal how CBS assembled its Vietnam documentary with disturbing journalistic techniques. Interview subjects who fully refuted the show's claims were simply omitted. Worse, the producers cut a

spiracy at the highest levels of military intelligence, the final compelling evidence of "back and forth misdeeds at every echelon below." Unfortunately, she does not explain convincingly why Westwoodland agreed to settle, and sign a lame joint statement. She suggests only that the general's overconfident senior counsel persuaded him to drop the matter.

Sharon v *Time* had quite a different outcome. The judges found that *Time's* allegation that Sharon was both unwise and defamatory—but not malicious. When U.S. libel cases involving public figures turn up in American courts, the plaintiff must prove that the allegations were made with "malice"—defined as either actual malice, or knowledge of falsity, or reckless disregard of the truth. This legal requirement was designed to preserve the freedom of the press, in effect permitting innocent mistakes when covering major events and figures. Canada has so much requirement in this country Sharon would likely have won.

In the United States, he lost, the judges ultimately held that *Time* had not been guilty of malice in either its libel or its legal sense. However, in a highly unusual admission in their verdict, they formally chastised *Time* and its *Newsweek*-based counterpart, David Halberstam, for acting "negligently and carelessly." Following the verdict, *Time* threw out its early and a *Time* issue said, "We was, *Entirely*." That, Adler forcefully suggests, reflects the magazine's failure to address the implications of the verdict in recognizing those implications, she has produced courtroom journalism of the highest order.

—GUY OWEN, KAY



Westwoodland (left), Sharon (middle) defend clarity, "knows no parable"

military spokesman's (mis)statement about 1968 troop strength and spread it to a comment about the following year—suddenly turning the clip into a damning indictment.

Reckless Disregard also deconstructs how to rest the popular with that Westwoodland ultimately agreed to settle out of court because his position had been shattered by two military witnesses for him. Adler shows how cross-examination shredded their evidence—and says that testimony of one of them, Col. Gaius Harekin, descended to "civilians' profile." She concludes that Westwoodland was rattled of the charges raised, and "Sharon also reportedly discussed with



Blue-chip bordello

MAYFLOWER MADAM: THE SECRET LIFE OF SYDNEY HEDDIE BARROWS

By Sydney Heddie Barrows with William Nevsk
(Faber & Faber, 252 pages, \$25.95)

On quiet October evening in 1964, three young women sat in a New York apartment waiting for a special on Broadway's greatest dancer Claude Monet. Their cultured camaraderie was abruptly shattered when a dozen armed police officers bearing a search warrant burst through the door. The young ladies were employees of a 50-year-old company, Cacher—the city's most profitable call-girling. Its founder, Sydney Heddie Barrows, chairman of the board of Plymouth Rock cosmetics, breathlessly tells the story behind the headlines in her book, *Mayflower Madam*. Her literary collaborator is William Nevsk, who also interviewed the bestselling *Woman*, a so-called autobiography of the president of Chrysler Corp.—a man Monet's book parcel only describes as "another successful business personality." Nevsk clearly has soul. Monet is an entertaining as a TV mini-series, empty yet as treasurable as a bag of candy floss.

Intriguingly, the book questions the status of conventional sex as a world of degradation. Barrows expected her clients to conform to a strict code of conduct and to stay at first-class hotels only. Moreover, the rigorous training she gave her staff made life a hell to manage. In sensible, friendly tones, she advances them on matters of the most intimate personal hygiene. She even suggests that despite the nature of their work, her young ladies could meet princes and disapprove if—immediately after completing their assignments—they retired to the hotel bathroom to "jump up and down a little bit, and let gravity do its work." Barrows was also a keen observer of her market. There are certain gentlemen, especially of English and French extraction, who don't bathe as often as they might. If the gentlemen you're with could really use a bath, be sure to suggest progress wash facilities, tell him you happen to have some bubble bath with you, and wouldn't it be fun if you took a bath together?

Certainly beautiful life as Barrows

practised it sounds like fun. She constantly reminded her employees that they were "sharing an exquisite evening with an attractive, successful man, who is delighted to know you there and willing to pay top dollar for your company." But the *Mayflower Madam* starts the fact that she handled a healthy percentage of those dollars without having to jump up and down to keep her kitchens clean. The real



Barrows: selling Englishmen into bubble baths

story of her business remains to be told—by the girls themselves, and their sisters on the street.

—DARREN ARMIS

William Nevsk, the expatriate Canadian who has devoted thousands of hours to interviewing and writing about the legends of *Woman*, the notorious *Madame* or *Mother* and the drugged *High Culture* *Marguerite in the Love of America*, is disarmingly candid about his delight in being interviewed himself. "It's very rare that I've seen a well-known writer at all," he said during a recent telephone interview. "It's a shadowy kind of being 'known.' They're not really my books."

Born in Toronto in 1948, Nevsk attended Forest Hill Collegiate, then earned a degree in American History at York University. Always drawn to the United States, he moved there in

1969 and now lives in Newton, Mass., a Boston suburb. After he married, he says that his wife, Linda, gave him the confidence to quit his job editing *Woman*, a monthly Jewish magazine, and to write his first books, *High Culture*, a tribute to marijuana, and *The Big Book of Jewish Prayer*. Then, four years ago, Nevsk reported, a former Forest Hill associate who had become an editor at New York City's *Boston Boston*, asked Nevsk to collaborate with Lee Iacocca. Publishing sources claim that Iacocca grossed \$15.5 million, while Nevsk's contract paid him a flat fee of \$25,000 (plus about \$40,000 in bonuses—less than one per cent of the sale). Nevsk is now completing a book with Speaker of the U.S. House of Representatives Thomas (Tip) O'Neill, tentatively titled *Moss of the House*. He refuses to discuss his current income arrangement—but admits that he now stands to earn a "good percentage" of sales.

Whatever he writes, Nevsk insists that it "have some redemptive moral value." I suggest that *Family* be widely. To me, Nevsk's book had moral value: some humor, some insight. There are lessons in the way she ran her business. I don't mind if other people don't see it that way. "In the future, he adds virtually, he would like to write a book about the tofu industry.

—J.D. in London, Ont.

MACLEAN'S BEST-SELLER LIST

Fiction

- 1 *It's King* (1)
- 2 *Whitehead, David* (2)
- 3 *The Telling of Lies, Pinsky* (3)
- 4 *The Prisoner of Love, Moore* (2)
- 5 *Red Stone House, Givens* (1)
- 6 *A Matter of Honor, Archer* (7)
- 7 *A Taste for Death, James*
- 8 *The Queen's Secret, Tregear*
- 9 *A Perfect Day, in David* (1)
- 10 *Wonderland, David* (1)

Nonfiction

- 1 *Vince, Stephen* (1)
- 2 *The Revolution, Dancy* (1)
- 3 *His Way: The Unearthed Biography of Frank Sinatra, Kelly* (1)
- 4 *Kennedy, Lawrence* (1)
- 5 *Fatherhood, Kelly* (1)
- 6 *Controlling Interests Who Own Canada, Francis* (1)
- 7 *Capital Offenders: Dr. Ruth Meets Uncle Sam, Packer* (1)
- 8 *The Master Builders, Foster* (1)
- 9 *Life in Winter, Givens* and *Theroux* (1)
- 10 *James, Bertram's Dog Stories, Bennett* (1)

(1) *Picture Book* (1)

—Compiled by Frances McLeod

Exercise in obfuscatory gauze

By Allan Fotheringham

Zeus, Dr. Fotheringham, it's certainly lucky running out you as the street.

Elucidate explicitly the phantasmagorical, conglomerations of your miscomprehensions.

Well, gee, I can't figure out for the life of me what's going on with John Turner.

Don't worry, neither can John. You're in good company.

But, like, who are they pointing at him? As if I understood it, he has his party ahead in the polls.

Indeed he does. The problem is that some of the former senior players in the party aren't so high in the polls. Just as power corrupts, lack of power corrupts absolutely.

Now wouldn't be referring to...

You're absolutely right. Jack Pickens! He's responsible for all this trouble in the party.

Pickens? What did he do wrong?

He's sitting up there in his home in Buckleffs, the former guru of Mackenzie King, writing book reviews. He called Keith Davy's book the trivial outpouring of a shallow mind.

What's wrong with Jack?

He kept the good senator very badly. Davy is a very sensitive person. Sensitivity and loyalty are probably his two major characteristics. As he says in his book, the thing he is most proud of is his unswerving loyalty to the leader of the Liberal party, whatever his name might be.

But I thought he was the guy who was making Turner in the front?

That's just a little private joke between them. Davy was concerned there wasn't enough interest in this convention in Ottawa and wanted to stir up a little controversy. Mrs. Turner, for example, thinks it's a real heat. She slaps her thigh at the very thought of it.

And Marc Lalonde? How does he fit in?

Marc was also concerned about the attendance in Ottawa. He has a deal where he gets 15 per cent of the gate.

John Fotheringham is a columnist for Southern News.

and he wants to keep those turnouts spinning. He was just trying to throw in a little hype.

I see. And where does Paul Martin come into the situation? Paul Martin suffers from a severe case of the wobbles. He can't decide exactly when he is going to run for an MP's seat so he can named as leader. In that, he resembles Brian Mulroney, who also didn't want to run for anything until he was sure he could become leader. But Mulroney was lucky.

How so that?

He didn't have the wobbles. Joe

does he need?

Anything in the 68 range and he's in bad trouble. He'll probably get a little over 30 per cent—thanks in part to those senior statisticians who have been so helpful.

Say, you haven't mentioned where Tom Anwerly fits into all this. Is it true that Danny and James Coats and company would like him to be leader?

Tom's major problem is keeping the family peace. His brother, deep-throated Lloyd, has been preparing for years for the right opportunity to run for leader. Suddenly, little brother has lost all that weight, is in Montreal learning French and has better power connections. Winnipeg is a lovely place from which to run for anything. Their mother is in an absolute tizzy.

So Turner is going to survive this attempt by those guys who need a leadership review?

Yes, "survive." He will live to fight another day. But he'll be robbed to death by dad, just as that other party did to Joe Clark. They'll mangle and mangle at his heels and drive him to distraction just as happened to Joe And?

And he'll lose the next election. Then they'll turn him out.

Why do you say he will lose the next election?

Because Brian Mulroney can lose 100 seats and still be Prime Minister with a minority government. The Liberal squabbling will keep Mulroney alive.

And Jean Chrétien will then be leader?

Nope.

Why not?

We're now talking a Liberal leadership convention in 1993, perhaps 1996. By then, Chrétien will be seen as old guard, a figure from the 1970s. He'll be faded, having what has been

So who'll be the new leader?

I am not at liberty to reveal that at the moment. I've been asked to keep quiet.

Gee, Dr. Pat, you've certainly bewildered the fuzzyphonian, reminding us a great deal of obfuscatory gauze. Thanks a lot.

Anytime.



JOHN TURNER





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